Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-176
Wednesday
11 September 1991

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FBIS-SOV-91-176 *11 September 1991*

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Worldwide Issues

Reportage on CSCE Conference on Human Dimension

Pankin Previews Conference

LD1009120491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Today is the first day of work in Moscow of the Conference on the Human Dimension. It is taking place within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. What does USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin see as the tasks of this forum? This is what he said at a meeting with journalists:

[Begin Pankin recording] The conference will have to take new steps in the process and in confirming and reinforcing the principles of human rights and in creating guarantees, which, as we have seen, may be jeopardized, so to speak, rather quickly, by one stroke of the pen or by one wave of the hand by some fuehrer newly brought to light.

The victory over the putsch was, first of all, a victory for our people, but it was also a victory for international solidarity. We are coming to the conclusion that perhaps national law alone is no longer enough for the creation of such guarantees—international law is also needed here. Obviously, that question will be at the center of discussions, as will the principle of noninterference which we used to idolize and, on the whole, made a kind of idol of. It is a principle which we referred to in order to deflect any condemnation of the situation in this sphere in our country. In its own way, this method will also be subjected to examination. The precedence of international law over national policy will be further confirmed.

But specifically there will be an official flow of participants presented [words indistinct] (?by prominent) experts in the sphere of human rights. Moreover, there will be so-called parallel organizations, public organizations, human rights organizations sending their delegations. Around 6,000-7,000 people will take part in it in total. So the participants will make an examination, a detailed analysis, of the observation of human rights. Details of the new stage of the mechanism of cooperation within the framework of the human dimension will be elaborated.

Many countries will raise the question of the creation of an institute of observers, of [word indistinct] rapporteurs, who, in certain conditions, may be people experienced in any question. There is also a proposal for so-called international mediation and so forth. But I don't want to get ahead of myself. Time will tell. [end recording]

Foreign Ministry Official Cited

LD1109040991 Moscow TASS in English 1203 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—Following the events in the USSR on August 19-21, the political situation in the Soviet Union and the world has radically changed. Yuriy Reshetov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Directorate for International Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights, told TASS. Even at the second CSCE Conference on Human Dimension held in Copenhagen, the Soviet delegation agreed without any hesitation to all the provisions arranged with the participating countries on the conference on human rights. The most far-reaching steps in this area can be taken by the USSR now.

Reshetov said that in preparation for the Moscow conference, the Soviet side moved on from the view that one of the most significant topics at the conference should be the development of political pluralism in participating countries and guarantees for the functioning of democratic political institutions. Particularly important here is the discussion on restrictions covering the introduction of a state of emergency in a country except when it is done in strict accordance with national legislation, constitutional norms and provisions of international documents.

Of priority importance during the discussion in Moscow will be problems of ethnic conflicts, Reshetov said. This is relevant to Indonesia and also perhaps to the Soviet Union. Unless rational and effective methods of coping with such situations are found, there will be not only bloodshed and loss of life, but the destabilising effect from such developments can undermine stability and jeopardise everything that has been achieved by European process.

Ways for multinational control over such situations are now being sought. This control is imposed not only in the framework of the European process, Reshetov said. It is characteristic of the United Nations system which is directly involved with human rights. These control mechanisms are not meant for interfering in the affairs of states. Their purpose is to achieve some mutually acceptable methods of mediation during ethnic conflicts, Reshetov said.

As regards problems of control over the situation in the sphere of human rights in the USSR, it should be noted that only recently the USSR adopted universally accepted controls protecting human rights, Reshetov said.

"A great deal should be done for human rights in our country. The problem of refuseniks is far from solved. There are dozens of people denied the permission to emigrate for over five years which contradict international standards. There are still people in detention who

we suspect are being held for political reasons. A great deal remains to be done to correct the state of things in psychiatry", he said.

Reshetov set out his opinion of the death penalty. "Even people who have committed the most heinous crimes should not be denied life, this gift of nature," he said.

The question of an alternative to military service needs discussion. "There are people who cannot do military service for religious reasons, and this matter should be resolved legislatively." Reshetov said on the whole the Moscow conference will discuss the ways of creating the best conditions for guaranteeing and protecting dignity.

Gorbachev Addresses Reception

LD1009192791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1834 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 10 Sep (TASS)—A reception was held this evening in the Kremlin on behalf of the USSR president to commemorate the Moscow meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE.

In a short speech, Mikhail Gorbachev continued the theme of the European process that he touched upon in his morning address at the opening of the forum.

He said that the cardinal changes in Europe, which will surely be given a renewed impetus by the powerful forward surge in the democratic transformation of our country, make it possible to speed up the movement toward a European democratic environment. What we call the human dimension is turning into one of the most important directions in this formation. I am convinced, the USSR president continued, that it is precisely this that should become the basic foundation of the common European home.

Democratic development in each of the European states needs such a foundation. If it has this, then any attempts to suppress human rights and to use violence not only in relations between countries but also within countries would immediately become the object of universal attention and joint measures.

The situation also makes it possible to raise the tone of the negotiating process on the radical reduction of conventional weapons and on the liquidation of tactical nuclear weapons, to begin in practice creating a system of collective security on the principles of the Paris Charter.

Our decisiveness to accelerate progress toward the market economy and, of course, the changes in this same field in the countries of Eastern Europe place before the eyes of all Europeans the problem of an all-European market and—as its necessary components—that of the transportation, energy, and communications infrastructure. This is a most complex and prolonged process, especially considering the European Community's rapid strides toward a single market, on the one hand, and the state of our economy, on the other.

But we should all be concerned lest in place of the military-political "curtain" that used to divide Europe there should take shape an economic "curtain" that would divide it into rich and poor. That would be another disaster.

It is clear, the USSR president pointed out in his address to the participants of the forum, that not one of the above-mentioned tasks can be carried out without progress in the sphere to which your conference is devoted—the human dimension.

I have been told about the opening speeches of the ministers on this day, Mikhail Gorbachev noted. They testify to the high intellectual level of the conference, to the clearly expressed responsibility for the present and future of Europe that unites all the participants.

The president of the USSR wished the participants of the forum success.

Activities for 11 Sep Previewed

LD1109061691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0530 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 11 Sep (TASS)—The Moscow CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension is continuing its work today. [passage omitted]

The ministers of foreign affairs of the USSR, United States, Spain, and other countries are expected to speak at the forum today.

A program of parallel measures is actively being implemented with the participation of almost 10,000 representatives of public, nongovernmental, and human rights organizations and movements from many countries.

The press service of the executive secretariat of the meeting of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension has reported that Algirdas Saudargas, Lithuanian minister of foreign affairs and executive secretary of the conference, and Vladimir Petrovskiy, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, are to meet with journalists on Wednesday.

The information department of the president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic has reported that Boris Yeltsin is to meet with participants in the conference this morning. Later on in the day the Russian president plans to receive U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

'Outstanding' Baker Visit Predicted

LD1009092691 Moscow TASS in English 1121 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow September 9 TASS—"In light of the latest changes in the Soviet Union, James Baker's forthcoming visit to the USSR may turn out to be an outstanding event in relations between the two countries," a high-ranking Soviet diplomat told TASS today. He believes Soviet-American relations "may now be elevated to a qualitatively new level."

The agenda of Baker's visit, planned within the frameworks of the CSCE Human Dimension Conference that is to open in Moscow on September 10, envisages his first talks with the newly appointed USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin.

"These talks may touch, primarily, on the need for the United States to take a different look at the USSR, which will allow us to do away with remaining elements of suspicion," the diplomat believes. "The Soviet side," he stressed, "intends to proceed from precisely this premise, from the desire to join the community of civilised Western states as quickly as possible."

It is planned to discuss during the talks a whole set of problems, linked with the settlement of regional conflicts, as well as bilateral relations, primarily economic ties, and also humanitarian problems," [no opening quotation marks as received] the Soviet diplomat said. "The key issue will be, without doubt, implementing the agreements on arms limitation, particularly related to strategic weapons, reached during President Bush's recent visit to the USSR. I am referring, primarily, to the Soviet Union's confirmation of the continuity of its line, about which the Soviet side has no doubts whatsoever."

"In light of independence declarations adopted by several republics, many foreign partners," he admitted, "are concerned about arms control, particularly about weapons of mass destruction in the USSR." He denied claims that armaments in the USSR are becoming uncontrollable. "This control is effected personally by the USSR president," the diplomat said.

The Baker-Pankin meeting will also deal with the Middle East problem. The Soviet diplomat recalled that a joint statement on the Middle East was issued during President Bush's visit to Moscow, establishing an approximate date for the Middle East peace conference—October. "The Soviet Union's line remains unchanged in this matter and the USSR intends to continue the dialogue in this direction," the diplomat noted.

Solton Views Upcoming Baker Visit

LD1009201491 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] At the Conference on Human Dimension, opening in Moscow on the 10th, the foreign ministers of the European countries, of the United States, and Canada will have an opportunity to examine the situation in the Soviet Union at first hand. Beyond the conference there will be meetings with President Gorbachev and leaders of some of the republics. Moscow attaches special importance to the impending talks with the United States secretary of state, James Baker, since much in the world depends on the climate in Soviet-American relations. So what is the outlook for these relations? Here is an opinion from Yuriy Solton:

Aside from attending the conference, Mr. Baker is expected to visit Leningrad, now known as St. Petersburg; the Asian republic of Kazakhstan; and the Baltic republics. He will meet with President Gorbachev, the Russian president, Boris Yeltsin, and other political leaders. In short, according to reports from Washington, the state secretary is coming to Moscow to ascertain what sort of a country this is now.

Hopefully he'll find that the Soviet Union is not disintegrating—as many in the West believe—but is putting together a new association of independent republics, a union in which the individual members can establish their own relations with foreign countries, but the center will remain in charge of basic foreign and military policies.

Washington has again taken up a wait-and-see position, just as it did three years ago when George Bush was elected America's President. Mr. Bush has yet to send to the American Senate for ratification the strategic arms reduction treaty signed in Moscow on 31 July. There seem to be doubts in Washington as to whether Moscow is in control of its nuclear weapons. And once again there is dithering over economic matters. But certainly Washington must understand that a sideline stance is in no one's interests.

The Soviet foreign minister, Boris Pankin, said the United States will not be asked for assistance during the coming talks; rather, the Soviet Union will suggest cooperation and help in promoting democracy. The leaders of the major republics have confirmed that the Soviet Union remains loyal to its international commitments, including those relating to disarmament and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Eastern Europe. And Moscow is still interested in working together with the United States to adjust regional conflicts, notably those in the Middle East, Afghanistan, and Cambodia.

No matter how difficult the transition period may be, the new thinking is still the cornerstone of this country's foreign policy and the foundation remains for further cooperation with the United States in world affairs. Mr. Baker's coming visit should help to dispel many of Washington's doubts about the future.

'Diplomatic Panorama' on Baker Visit

OW1009182491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1556 GMT 10 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The American Secretary of State, James Baker, is due to arrive in Moscow on the evening of Tuesday 10th

September. He is to take part in the Moscow CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension and also to conduct negotiations with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin, Defence Minister Shaposhnikov, KGB Chief Bakatin and Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov. Mr. Baker is also expected to visit Saint Petersburg and Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] has learnt from well-placed diplomatic sources that plans are presently being made for the Secretary of State to fly to Alma-Ata to meet the Kazakh president, Nursultan Nazarbayev.

Commenting on the forthcoming Moscow negotiations, a high-ranking Soviet Foreign Ministry official said that they would deal primarily with the need to "confirm our intention to honour the international obligations that we have already made, both in the military- political sphere and in other areas."

In addition the Soviet side is keen to guarantee the continuity of those negotiation mechanisms already in place and which function in accordance with agreements reached, in particular, at the last Soviet-American Summit in Moscow. Future consultations on nuclear and cosmic weapons, strategic stability and negotiation on space and other issues are of particular importance.

The third aspect of the negotiations will, according to the diplomat, be a discussion of the general state of Soviet-American co-operation in the sphere of disarmament and how it could be intensified and developed in the future.

In response to a question about the possibility of new Soviet proposals for the reduction of strategic weapons, the Foreign Ministry spokesperson said that "the parameters for any further reductions in line with the START Treaty must be defined in the course of the consultations about negotiations on nuclear and cosmic weapons and strategic stability, scheduled for October [no closing quotation mark as received].

He also stated that the Soviet side was "ready to discuss the problem of the liquidation of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe" and is awaiting the results of the consultations between the USA and her allies on this issue. These should be ready in November when the NATO Council meets in Rome.

Concerning the role of the republics, especially Russia, in the disarmament negotiations the diplomat noted that Mr. Baker was due to meet the president of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin, for talks. Meanwhile, he said, "we will abide by the order of the USSR Congress of Peoples' Deputies, which states very clearly how at the present juncture these problems should be dealt with."

Baker Comments on Trip, Aid

LD1009223691 Moscow TASS in English 2153 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Korolyov]

[Text] Washington September 11 TASS—Talking to reporters as his plane approached Moscow, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said he was visiting the Soviet Union "at a rather extraordinary time" and expected to meet with a broader range of officials than normal.

He has arrived in the Soviet Union to get a better idea of transformations taking place in the country and to attend the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension.

"This trip will give us a much better feel than we now have of what the status of the central government is," Baker said.

Touching upon the question of large scale economic aid to the Soviet Union, Baker said that politicial and economic changes in the USSR, and in particular commitment to the principles of a free market economy, still remained conditions for the provision of aid.

The Soviets "don't have to take the steps first but commit to take the steps," Baker said.

He emphasised that "the future course of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people is for the Soviet people to determine. The future course of the republics is for the republics to determine".

Pankin Previews Talks With Baker

LD1109081391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0729 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelov]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep (TASS)—Speaking to journalists before talks began, USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin stated that he is "ready to confirm to James Baker that I remain faithful to what I have pledged, including all areas connected with the disarmament process."

He noted that the USSR is ready to follow the schedule for talks on these issues which was basically approved at the summit between the USSR and U.S. presidents. He even intends to propose to the U.S. side that things be "speeded up" in some areas. The Soviet minister did not clarify which issues he is proposing to "speed up" with the U.S. side, saying that he will make an announcement on this subject at the end of the talks.

Speaking of a "certain degree of concern" being felt in the world today in connection with the disarmament process, Boris Pankin said: "We have the people to handle this process and we have the people to steer it through and keep it under control."

The head of the Soviet foreign policy department also said that at the talks the sides will touch upon the question of providing economic aid to the Soviet Union. At the moment, he added, it isn't up to the Soviet Union; it's up to the West.

Answering journalists' questions, Boris Pankin said that the talks will examine the question of an international conference on the Middle East, and the Soviet side will

do all it can to ensure that it takes place on schedule. In the opinion of the Soviet minister: "It is hardly appropriate for it to be held in the United States." He said that a venue must be selected which would suit all sides. "There are several cities in Europe," the minister said, "particularly Prague."

Talking about the future role of the USSR at the United Nations, the minister said that he does not foresee any changes in the country's position in that organization at this stage. The union of sovereign states, the establishment of which began to be planned at the Congress of People's Deputies, will be represented at the UN Security Council. He noted: "The Congress also expressed its readiness to support the aspirations of republics in this state that wish to lobby for UN membership."

Pankin, Baker Begin Talks

LD1109065991 Moscow TASS in English 0645 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Georgiy Shmelov]

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker began talks in Moscow today to discuss strategic arms reductions and international issues, including a Middle East conference scheduled for October, co-chaired by the United States and the Soviet Union.

Baker and Pankin, who are meeting for the first time, are also expected to discuss their further contacts.

Baker is visiting the Soviet Union for an international human rights conference.

The two are also expected to hold another meeting later.

Baker Summarizes Initial Talks

LD1109084491 Moscow TASS in English 0835 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has said his first meeting with new Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin was very interesting and useful.

Baker is in Moscow to attend the CSCE Conference of Human Dimension.

The first meeting between Baker and Pankin was rather short, as Baker was to meet President Mikhail Gorbachev. But according to the secretary of state, the sides discussed issues outlined by Pankin to correspondents before the meeting.

Baker said they will continue meetings with the Soviet foreign minister. He said he was planning to use his stay in Moscow for this.

Next week, Baker is expected to visit the Baltic republics and Kazakhstan.

Gorbachev Receives Baker

LD1109083691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0817 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep (TASS)—USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev received U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in the Kremlin today. Baker is heading the U.S. delegation at the meeting of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension taking place in Moscow.

It is expected that matters concerning the development of Soviet-U.S. relations will have an important place in the discussions, along with CSCE issues.

It cannot be ruled out that after the meeting Mikhail Gorbachev and James Baker will answer questions from journalists.

Further on Gorbachev-Baker Meeting

OW1109094391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0905 GMT 11 Sep 91

[From "Express News No. 1"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Moscow President Mikhail Gorbachev has received the U.S. Secretary of State James Baker who arrived in Moscow on Tuesday for the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension.

The talks centered around the most important aspects of Soviet- American relations.

Also on Wednesday James Baker met his Soviet counterpart Boris Pankin. IF [INTERFAX] has been informed that they discussed disarmament and human rights.

After the talks (at aproximately 12:30) a brief news conference of the Soviet President and U.S. Secretary of State is expected at the St. George's Hall of the Kremlin.

Genscher Addresses CSCE Meeting

LD1009141891 Berlin ADN in German 1257 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—According to Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the movement of the peoples of the Soviet Union toward the values of freedom and democracy has proved to be irreversible. In a speech to the CSCE foreign ministers, who are meeting in Moscow at the Conference on the Human Dimension, Genscher said today that the citizens of St. Petersburg, like the citizens of Warsaw, Prague, Budapest, Bucharest, and Sofia, as well as the citizens of Leipzig and Halle, have passed their historic test. "We are all being judged by whether we simply applaud them or whether we provide them with effective aid," Genscher stressed. The West is now being called upon to help with the development of a market economy. "Finally we are all together

in the same community of values. A dream is coming true," the German foreign minister said. The Paris Charter, signed in November 1990, is the basis for a new European constitution which will commit all member states to democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights and minority rights, the right to self-determination, and the right to economic freedom for individuals, he noted. It is now important, Genscher said, to counter violations of these principles with sanctions.

The foreign minister proposed that, during the conference in Moscow, a system be established to protect individual and collective legal rights. This would permit observer missions to be sent, even if the state in question does not agree.

According to the Germans, the CSCE states should further develop a mechanism to prevent the deployment of military force for illegitimate purposes. In the case of an attempted coup d'etat or putsch in a country, the legitimate constitutional organs must be firmly supported. Should such a putsch succeed, the other CSCE states must do everything to see that the state represented by such a regime goes back to observing the obligations it had assumed, and restores constitutional order. Coup leaders must not be able to count on recognition. The enforcement of CSCE obligations does not constitute interference in internal affairs.

Genscher also suggested that the legal protection granted by the European Court of Human Rights to each citizen of Council of Europe member states should be given to every citizen in Europe, even if the state in which they live is not yet a member of the Council of Europe.

Pankin Meets German Counterpart

LD1009152591 Moscow TASS in English
1503 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has met his Soviet counterpart Boris Pankin.

Genscher is now staying in Moscow to attend the Moscow meeting of the Conference on Human Dimension within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Pankin informed Genscher on the development of the situation in the Soviet Union after the events on August 19-21 and on the decisions taken by the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies on the creation of power structures for the transitional period.

The Soviet foreign minister confirmed the invariable adherence of the Soviet Union to the policy of the new thinking in international affairs, the fundamental principles of the common European process and the loyalty to Soviet obligations on international treaties and bilateral agreements.

The ministers were unanimous in their statement that the Moscow Conference on Human Dimension is summoned to synthesize the basic agreements of the previous two stages of the conference held in Paris and Copenhagen and outline the further progress on the basis of the Paris Charter.

The elaboration and implementation of a system of confidence measures in conformity with the humanitarian and legal sphere with due account of experience accumulated in other spheres would be of special significance.

The sides also discussed the idea of the future transformation of the conference into a standing structure of the Helsinki process.

Pankin and Genscher discussed the state of and prospects for the Soviet-German relations, especially in light of current changes in the Soviet Union.

In this context, they outlined specific steps to fill with actual deeds the package of ratified and acting Soviet-German treaties.

They expressed common confidence that the course towards the development of a full-scale cooperation, good-neighbourly relations and partnership responds to the inner interests of both the Soviet Union and Germany.

The ministers stated the determination of both sides to continue this course.

Gorbachev, Genscher Discuss Honecker

LD1009174891 Moscow TASS in English
1624 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—It has become known from an informed source that an issue concerning the fate of former East German leader Erich Honecker was raised on Monday during a meeting between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

The two sides reach [as received] mutual understanding on the issue.

Yeltsin, Genscher Discuss Cooperation

LD1009175191 Berlin ADN in German
1607 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin will visit Germany on 21 and 22 November. He made this announcement to journalists in Moscow today after a talk with Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. He accepted an invitation from Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The talks in Bonn will focus in particular on further economic cooperation between Germany and Russia and the issue of state autonomy for German Russians.

During their meeting at the seat of the Russian parliament and Government, Yeltsin and Genscher said they discussed joint programs for the modernization of the Russian agricultural and food economy as well as the oil-refining industry. Immediate food aid from Germany in the winter months of January and February was also discussed.

Yeltsin promised a detailed examination of the territorial aspects of the issue of autonomy for German Russians. A common standpoint and specific proposals are to be worked out with Soviet-German interest groups in the period leading up to his visit to Germany. These proposals can then be further discussed in Bonn.

Yeltsin said the Honecker issue was not addressed in the talks. He said, however, that he thought the Germans had the right to demand Honecker's return.

Questions concerning security policy, reform of the armed forces and the KGB, as well as further nuclear disarmament were also discussed. Genscher said that Yeltsin assured him that he supported Germany's desire for the total elimination of land-based short-range nuclear weapons and nuclear artillery. He also addressed the question of increased safety for nuclear reactors.

Yeltsin Comments on Talks

LD1009183591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 10 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today is the time for energetic joint actions and direct contacts between Russia and Germany. With these words Boris Yeltsin started his meeting with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, German federal minister of foreign affairs. This, their first meeting, was requested by the German side in July. Boris Yeltsin thanked Germany for supporting Russia during the coup. Questions of the reduction of the armed forces and strategic and tactical nuclear weapons were discussed, and their points of view coincided.

[Begin recording] [Yeltsin] We have discussed some joint programs that could be implemented here to enable us to get out of the crisis more rapidly. This is a program for food aid, especially during the winter, the first three months of the coming year. Questions on autonomy for the former Volga Germans were examined, as were other questions. We did not discuss Honecker.

[Reporter] What is your position on this?

[Yeltsin] I think Germany has a right to demand a decision and to demand extradition, which should be done, if Germany insists. [end recording]

Hans-Dietrich Genscher noted that the Russian president and he are not given to fine words and phrases but to concrete practical actions. Boris Yeltsin accepted an invitation to visit Germany in November.

Shaposhnikov, Genscher Discuss Security

LD1109101891 Berlin ADN in German 0923 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep (ADN)—Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher met Soviet Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov in Moscow this morning. The ministers discussed, above all, questions of security policy in Europe. In the talks, Genscher once again expressed the Federal Government's interest in removing land-based short-range missiles and nuclear artillery. After the meeting, the German foreign minister told ADN he was "very impressed" with the Soviet defense minister's views on how a common solution to Europe's security problems could be achieved. The ideas of Germany and the Soviet Union on this issue had "a great deal in common."

Yeltsin Meets With France's Dumas

LD1109090291 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 0600 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Boris Yeltsin held lengthy talks with Roland Dumas at the opening of the third session of the CSCE conference in Moscow yesterday. The Russian president commented warmly on the meeting to Ulysse Gosset:

[Begin Yeltsin recording in Russian with superimposed French translation] It has been a long time since there was such mutual understanding between the Russian Government and the French Government. Over the past months, particularly since the putsch, our relations have become very good. We reached agreement on my upcoming visit to France—undoubtedly in January—as well as on possible treaties. We reached a level of good understanding. I am very satisfied with our meeting with Dumas. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Yeltsin Praises Russia-France Ties

LD1009153691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] I think that between Russia and France, between the Russian and French leadership, for a long time there has not been such understanding as there has been during the past few months, declared RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President Boris Yeltsin in a conversation with journalists after meeting with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas.

More on Yeltsin-Dumas Talks

PM1109103191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by Sergey Samokhvalov: "No Clouds, the Horizon Is Clear"]

[Text] Yesterday morning a meeting took place between French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas and B.N. Yeltsin. R. Dumas presented a message from President

Francois Mitterrand inviting Yeltsin to make an official visit to France. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

B.N. Yeltsin informed the prominent guest of the economic and political situation which has developed in the country since the putsch and the results of his recent meeting with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev. The sides also discussed questions regarding financial aid from the West and the possibility of France participating in the privatization of unfinished construction projects on USSR territory.

B.N. Yeltsin summed up the talks in a brief interview with journalists:

"There are currently no clouds between the Union and France. Russia previously took part in business cooperation as a component of the Union. Now we have embarked on direct contacts. History shows that our relations have been taking shape over hundreds of years. I think this merely adds dynamism to our cooperation at this time.

Gorbachev Meets Italy's De Michelis

AU1009094491 Rome ANSA in English
0814 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] (ANSA) Moscow, September 9—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Monday expressed his gratitude for the "great help" Italy had provided for democratic forces in the Soviet Union during the attempted putsch three weeks ago.

Gorbachev told Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis that he greatly appreciated the position taken by Italian President Francesco Cossiga, Premier Giulio Andreotti and De Michelis himself.

Speaking to reporters after his talks with Gorbachev, De Michelis said he had assured the Soviet leader that Italy will press three points within the Group of Seven most industrialised countries:

1) The need to confirm the [words indistinct] and cooperate with the Soviet Union's present leaders.

2) The need to insist that the path mapped out by the Congress of People's Deputies is not "deviated from nor sabotaged," (?a strong) message to Soviet leaders so that they act within a truly democratic framework.

3) The need for an "extraordinary effort" of cooperation to make possible the practical functioning of economic aid operations.

De Michelis also stressed the need to get humanitarian aid quickly to the Soviet Union to face the "dramatic" problems posed by the onset of winter. He pointed out that the 500 billion lire (385 million dollars) of aid earmarked by December [words indistinct] it will only start arriving in the Soviet Union in the next few days, despite all efforts to speed them along.

De Michelis said his overall impression was that Gorbachev was more determined than ever to strive to find solutions to the Soviet Union's problems.

De Michelis pointed out that after the attempted putsch, the West was oriented towards giving massive aid to the Soviet Union, but it would first be necessary to wait and see what new talking partners emerged from the new union arrangement currently under negotiation.

Gorbachev, who was flanked by new Foreign Minister Boris Pankin, welcomed De Michelis with great warmth, but appeared more restrained and solemn than on previous occasions. He recalled that, even before the proof of friendship given to the Soviet Union during the attempted putsch, Italy had shared with his country "a new vision of the world" which had led it to cooperate with the Soviet Union "as partner and friend."

"I think," he added, "that these years have not passed in vain, both for relations between our two countries and within the framework of collaboration in Europe and all other international forums."

Pankin also stressed Italy's "political weight" with other Western nations, during the two men's afternoon talks.

De Michelis said he had assured Gorbachev that Italy would continue to pursue its line, and revealed that the Soviet president had voiced the hope that Italy would work to persuade the West to work with the men who are trying to make the transition from the old Soviet Union to the new union.

He said that his talks had strengthened his view that the transformation of the Soviet Union will be much more difficult than (?people) in the West expect, involving the creation of completely new political structures and the reconversion of the economy towards a free market, which he described as "an enormous task."

A high degree of coordination will be required in order to work with the representatives of the "new course" in the Soviet Union, something which appears difficult until these new talking partners are identified, De Michelis said.

He added that the turmoil caused by the failed putsch had plunged the economy into even greater chaos.

He said that on his return to Rome Wednesday, he would send his counterpart Boris Pankin a letter containing a series of questions, so that Italy could hammer out firmer policy regarding the Soviet Union after he meets Pankin in New York in two weeks.

De Michelis also announced that Italian Premier Giulio Andreotti will pay a brief visit to Moscow September 21 on his return from his official visit to China, and will have talks with Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

On Tuesday, De Michelis will meet Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Ivan Silayev, head of the provisional

government and chairman of the special committee set (?up to) manage the economy.

He will also deliver a speech to a session of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which will be opened by Gorbachev.

De Michelis Addresses CSCE Forum

AU1009131191 Rome ANSA in English
1220 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] (ANSA) Moscow, September 10—Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis on Tuesday stressed the need for nationalist aspirations in the new Europe emerging from the collapse of the communist bloc to be not only encouraged but also governed.

Addressing a human rights conference of the newly enlarged (with the addition of the Baltic states) 38-member Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, De Michelis pointed out that the CSCE process had been the catalyst for "exploding" the continent's old equilibria, but now the form was equally important as an instrument to create a constitutional framework in each country capable of reconciling the twin goals of solidarity and independence.

After underlining how the defeat of the August right-wing coup against President Mikhail Gorbachev had "irreversibly discredited and cancelled" the totalitarian means by which forced co-existence had been imposed in the Soviet Union, De Michelis also called for "new forms, respectful of national identity, to put back together the shattered pieces lying from the Baltics to the Urals."

De Michelis's speech was delivered amid an atmosphere of great excitement, with the foreign ministers and delegates from 36 European countries plus the United States and Canada visibly aware they were taking part in an historic event. The emotion was heightened by Gorbachev's opening speech, in which he hailed the defeat of the August 19 putsch as a triumph of the principles enshrined in the final act of the CSCE's founding conference in Helsinki in 1975. He also reiterated that the coup had been defeated because the success of his perestroyka reforms launched in 1985 had [word indistinct] the mentality of the Soviet people and the attitude of the outside world, and pledged to continue along the path to democracy.

De Michelis told the delegates that the Moscow conference would give an "irreversible impulse" to (?the new) Europe mapped out by the CSCE's Paris charter a year ago.

"The internal crisis of the Soviet Union," he said, "was an important test of the practical effectiveness of the principles and mechanisms set up to safeguard human rights and fundamental freedoms."

He added that the common heritage of the CSCE states as regards the theme of the conference, "the human dimension," can and must be further enriched.

But he also struck a cautionary note, referring to the dramatic conflicts and recrudescence of intolerance arising from the break- down of old repressive structures. He pointed to a respect for human rights as the new "key to aggregation," replacing the old totalitarian weapons.

This is (?why) he stressed, it was essential to perfect the CSCE mechanisms to prevent a return to old ethnic and national rivalries that were already raising their heads.

He said that Italy agreed with a U.S. proposal to (?extend) the duties of the Office for Free Elections, so as to gradually transform it into an "office for democratic institutions."

"A permanent human rights structure must be set up," he said, "endowing the CSCE's 'human dimension' with a real operative arm."

This would act in parallel with the CSCE's security institution, the Centre for the Prevention of Conflicts, he said.

Pankin, De Michelis Hold Talks

LD1009151191 Moscow TASS in English
1449 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin on Tuesday met his Italian counterpart Gianni de Michelis within the framework of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension in Moscow.

Michelis congratulated Pankin on his appointment to the post of Soviet foreign minister. Pankin expressed gratitude to the Italian prime minister for Italy's support for democratic reforms in the Soviet Union in the days of hardship.

He reiterated the Soviet leadership's adherence to the peace line in international affairs and its previous commitments.

Pankin informed Michelis about the results of the emergency Congress of Soviet People's Deputies and its decisions.

The ministers discussed urgent international issues, including the situation in Europe in light of the developments in Yugoslavia and prospects for a Middle East settlement.

They also discussed Soviet-Italian cooperation.

The meeting was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, characteristic of the Soviet-Italian dialogue.

Yeltsin Meets De Michelis

LD1009155691 Moscow TASS in English 1514 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—Kozmin: Russia's President Boris Yeltsin met Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis in the House of Russian Councils here today.

Yeltsin expressed gratitude for Italy's "principled stand during the hard period of the putsch" in the Soviet Union, and for support given to the leadership of the Russian Federation.

In an interview with journalists after the meeting, de Michelis described the meeting as "very fruitful and friendly".

Matters concerning the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Russian Federation and Italy were discussed during the talks, he said.

Silayev Meets De Michelis

OW1009170791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday, the head of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy (COMNE), Mr. Ivan Silayev, met with the Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis. Mr. Silayev informed the guest of the present situation in the USSR and told him that all the republics, including those unwilling to join the new political union, "are seriously interested in the economic union project."

The head of the Soviet provisional government said he could well understand the Western partners' anxiety and uncertainty about the prospects of cooperation with the USSR. "We've been doing everything in the line of foreign investment protection, and are hoping this will yield positive results," Mr. Silayev said.

He told Mr. de Michelis that food and consumer shortages presented a very serious problem to the USSR today. "To us, it is a political, as well as an economic problem," Mr. Silayev said.

The COMNE vice-head, Mr. Yuri Luzhkov, who is in charge of food supplies, said grain, meat, milk, and sugar would have to be purchased from the West in the first place. He expressed the view that collective and state farms would hardly be able to cope with the food problem, but added that this country's main objective would not be to scrap these structures, but rather to encourage the speedy development of an extensive network of small family farms.

Gorbachev Meets European Leaders

LD1009210991 Moscow TASS in English 2001 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev today met ministers heading the delegations of European countries at the conference on human dimension - Budimir Loncar of Yugoslavia, Jiri Dienstbier of Czechoslovakia, Roland Dumas of France, Hans Van den Broek of Netherlands and on behalf of the European communities, and Douglas Hurd of Great Britain.

All of them were interested in the president's estimation of the situation that has shaped after the August coup and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, as well as plans for the transitional period.

The president had an open and frank conversation with each minister. Responding to the matters that interested most each of the ministers, Gorbachev expanded and specified his analysis of the dangerous crisis the country has overcome, new possibilities of the democratic process and the economic rehabilitation of the Union and sovereign states united by it.

Talking with the Yugoslavian minister, the president made a special accent on the comparison of the processes underway in both countries and on the similarity of the search for solutions at a most difficult stage of their histories.

The sides devoted attention to the participation in the settlement of the Yugoslavian crisis of other states within the framework of the common European process. This was estimated as a positive phenomenon, reflecting the essential novelty in international life.

During the conversation with Dienstbier, who passed over a personal message of President Havel, the sides stressed mutual desire to give a fresh breath to the bilateral relations and use favorable conditions created by the Soviet Union's breakthrough to a higher stage of democratic transformations.

Gorbachev confirmed his intention to visit Czechoslovakia at the invitation of its president.

The president and Roland Dumas discussed the problems of shaping a new union, the single economic space and its integration with the system of international economic relations.

The French minister showed a special interest in the future activities of the State Council and the interrepublican economic committee, bearing in mind the rendering of specific aid and assistance in the transitional period.

During his meeting with Van den Broek, Gorbachev analysed in detail the objective conditions in which such cardinal transformations have been initiated in the huge

and unique in its complexity state, and, thus, difficulties in the formation of democratic foundations of the new life.

He spoke about mistakes made during perestroyka years, miscalculations, tactical moves and inevitable manoeuvres, which sometimes provoked lack of understanding and doubts both in and out of the country, but which were necessary to keep up the major direction of the perestroyka course, help the shaping of mechanisms of the self-defence of democracy and prevent the destructive comprehensive civil conflict.

The meeting with Van den Broek, who represents not only his country but the 12 EC states as well, naturally touched the theme of the organisation of economic cooperation, especially for the nearest transitional period, primarily, in the sphere of the population's supply with foodstuffs and consumer goods.

The sides touched upon the electric power project of the Netherlands' Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers. Gorbachev confirmed the readiness to participate in the project.

The conversation with Douglas Hurd was a sort of continuation of the recent meeting between the Soviet president and British Prime Minister John Major, but with due account of the results of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

Gorbachev told Hurd about heated debates at the congress that resulted in decisions enabling the conclusion that the congress has performed its responsible historic mission.

The British minister received clear and absolutely definite answers to his questions about the new structures of power and administration created for the transitional period.

He was interested in this in order to determine with whom Britain and its premier as a representative of the "Big Seven" will deal in rendering the Soviet Union assistance in the solution of the most acute and economically urgent problems.

All the meetings passed in an atmosphere of special warmness and frankness, testifying to the deepest change in the very nature of international relations, to feelings of liking, well-wishing and solidarity with the country, that is now recognised as an inseparable part of democratic world community.

Expressing his gratitude to the interlocutors, their governments and peoples, Gorbachev said that the situation carries such a chance that, as never before, gives an opportunity to make a historic effort to integrate the great country into the world system.

One cannot tell "how much it will cost", but, in any case, it will be cost less than the "cold war". The country should respond to the call of the history right now. This promises colossal gains for the whole world.

Pankin, Canada's McDougall View Ties

LD1009211891 Moscow TASS in English 2105 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—A working meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Boris D. Pankin and Barbara Jean McDougall, Canadian secretary of state for external affairs, took place here within the framework of the initial phase of the Moscow CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension.

The two foreign ministers analysed the present state of Soviet- Canadian relations and possibilities for their further development with due account of new political realities in the Soviet Union, and the formulation of fundamentally new principles of relations between the centre and republics.

The two sides pointed out mutual striving to build a new relationship by utilising the positive political capital which has been gained in recent years in Soviet-Canadian cooperation, including the two countries' interaction in international affairs.

Considering the favourable conditions for the reintegration of the Soviet economy into the world economy, the conditions that take shape as a result of the acceleration of the radical reform process in the Soviet Union, the two ministers devoted special attention to the package of matters concerning trade-and-economic cooperation, including that within the framework of emerging mechanisms for cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Group of Seven.

The Canadian side expressed readiness to actively promote the transition to a market economy in the USSR both through the implementation of specific bilateral projects and within the context of coordinated efforts of Western countries.

The similarity or proximity of the two sides' stands was confirmed by the discussion of a number of topical issues of world politics, such as, in particular, prospects for the development of the CSCE process, including its humanitarian dimension, the situation in Yugoslavia, work to settle the Middle East problem in the light of efforts towards the convocation of a regional Mid-East peace conference, and further development of the versatile disarmament process.

The meeting was held in the spirit of mutual understanding, frankness and mutual well-wishing.

Belgian Minister Praises CSCE Efforts

LD1009142891 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe aims to make Europe a continent of democratic states where human rights will be observed, Belgium Foreign Minister Mark Eyskens told the CSCE meeting in Moscow.

He said there won't be peace and stability if suppression and violations of human rights exist. The CSCE mechanism should ensure their protection.

Eyskens called inter-ethnic conflicts in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia a new challenge to Europe. He said the settlement of these conflicts is of prime importance.

The minister said last month's failed coup in the Soviet Union and the world community's reaction to it have once again demonstrated people's adherence to democracy.

Swiss Minister Addresses Conference

LD1109053991 Bern Swiss Radio International in English 1530 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] The Swiss foreign minister, Rene Felber, addressing the opening session of the Moscow conference, has called for stricter international measures to protect human rights around the globe.

Mr. Felber told delegates that what he called the international control system needed to be simplified and strengthened. He also expressed particular concern about the human rights situation in Turkey and Yugoslavia, both of them members of the 38-nation CSCE.

Mr. Felber said a particular problem in both countries was the abuse of the rights of minorities. He said the question of protecting minority rights was one which needed urgent international action.

Silayev Talks With EC Envoy

LD1009182191 Moscow TASS in English 1632 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—Russia and a renewed union are very much interested in getting immediate food aid from the European Community (EC), which would help the country survive the most complex period, Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev said here today during a meeting with Frans Andriessen, personal envoy of the president of the EC European Council, who had arrived here to attend the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension.

The EC envoy expressed admiration with the role played by Silayev during the August events in Moscow, pointing out that it was due to the efforts of people in the Russian Federation that eliminated the threat to democratic reforms not only in the Soviet Union but in the whole of Europe as well.

This enabled Russia to embark upon a new road of development, of which the granting of independence to the three Baltic states is a vivid illustration.

The Council of State would make energetic efforts in the coming one month and a half with a view to conclude an agreement between sovereign republics, the Russian premier told Andriessen.

At the same time work is under way to prepare a single economic programme that would be specific and understandable to the people, he added.

Along with food aid, a renewed union and Russia expect EC to help reform the monetary system and give technological support.

The EC envoy expressed readiness to begin to make arrangements for specific aid. With this end in view, experts representing the two sides have immediately begun to work to arrange for appropriate measures.

Turkey's Giray Meets Gorbachev, Hurd

TA1109091591 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 0905 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow (A.A)—Foreign Minister Safa Giray told Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Tuesday that Turkey welcomed the failure of a coup attempt in the Soviet Union.

Giray, who is currently here to attend the human rights conference of the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe, had a brief talk with Gorbachev.

Speaking to AA afterwards, Giray said that he had conveyed the good-will messages of Premier Mesut Yilmaz and President Turgut Ozal to the Soviet leader.

On his part, President Gorbachev told Giray that he was pleased of the stand taken by Turkey against the coup, Giray said.

Later on, Giray met with his British counterpart Douglas Hurd.

Giray, who described that talk "very cordial", told AA that the situation of the Turkish minority in Greece, developments in Iraq and the September 30 meeting scheduled for the Turkish-EC Association Council have been discussed in the talk.

During their talk, Hurd told Giray that his country recognized the rights of West Thracian Turks.

Giray will continue his contacts today.

Romania's Nastase on CSCE, Moldova

AU0909203691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1815 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow ROMPRES 9/9/1991—The conference starting in Moscow is of great interest for all of us, Adrian Nastase, Romania's minister of foreign affairs, stated upon his arrival in the Soviet capital city to participate in the meeting of the CSCE conference on human rights.

In a statement made to the Romanian and Soviet representatives, the Romanian minister of foreign affairs emphasised that the human dimension of the pan-European process was maybe the most important element for the future of Europe. We attach a special

importance to the participation in such an event as the Moscow meeting which has greater importance owing to the very fact that it is held in Moscow in the conditions when the human rights have special significance in the fight against conservative forces; and this is a very good framework to consolidate the institutions protecting human rights in general, Adrian Nastase said.

The Romanian foreign minister also specified that of great importance for the foreign ministers in the CSCE member countries was to be able to benefit from such a framework in the moment when could be used not only to discuss the general aspects of the human rights conference but also issues of the bilateral relations. This is why I consider this meeting as very important for the general political climate in Europe within the efforts to surmount the difficult questions on the continent.

For us the participation in the meeting is also an opportunity to reassert our pledges toward the CSCE documents on human rights, to do everything for them to be protected by each country's laws.

As far as Moldova is concerned, the head of the Romanian diplomacy stated at the request of a Soviet journalist, in our opinion the proclamation of the independence is a matter concerning the right to self-determination of a republic and it should be appreciated in the general context of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union.

Pankin Receives Hungary's Jeszenszky

LD0909203591 Budapest MTI in English 1955 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, September 9 (MTI)—Hungarian-Soviet political and economic cooperation may receive a boost after August's failed coup in the Soviet Union, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky told the press after talks with new Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin today.

The much debated security clause of the new Hungarian-Soviet general agreement was also discussed at the meeting, but Jeszenszky did not elaborate.

Boris Pankin also accepted an invitation to visit Budapest.

The sides expressed readiness to end the deadlock over economic cooperation, Jeszenszky said, adding that the Soviet side is aware of problems in bilateral trade and is ready to seek a solution.

Another important point of the talks was that of minority rights, with special regard to the issue of Hungarians living in the Sub-Carpathian region. The sides have tried to reconcile their positions on the issue, Jeszenszky said.

Because the new form of state will replace the Soviet Union will need foreign support, especially Western support, the ministers agreed to share experiences gained from building democracy.

The sides outlined their views on Yugoslavia, saying a peaceful settlement must be reached quickly. The Yugoslav crisis contradicts to pan-European democratic processes, they said and therefore, all forums, including the CSCE conference starting tomorrow, will have to be used to restore peace there.

Hungarian Minister Addresses Forum

LD1009195191 Budapest MTI in English 1516 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, September 10 (MTI)—Continuous supervision of the observance of earlier commitments related to the rights of the national minorities was urged by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky at the Moscow meeting held on humanitarian questions as part of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), which opened on Tuesday.

In his speech, Jeszenszky outlined Hungary's position as to the ways forward for developing European co-operation.

Hungary lays particular emphasis on guaranteeing the national right to self-determination and proposed discussing the correlation between this, human rights and democracy.

Regarding the August coup and the Yugoslav crisis, he called for taking a firmer stand for political control over the armies. A formula should be found, under which the sides will oblige themselves not to resort to armed force in solving internal conflicts, he stressed.

Speaking about the commitments connected with national minority rights, Geza Jeszenszky stressed the meeting of these should be carefully checked, taking into consideration the interests of the newly emerging states and countries restoring their statehood.

Jeszenszky proposed the CSCE should send a team of observers to monitor events in Yugoslavia. In Hungary's view, a suitable way of solving the crisis should be worked out at the peace conference, with regard to the endeavours of all ethnic gorups.

Analysing the lessons from the August coup in the Soviet Union, the Hungarian foreign minister pointed out that the changes in the former Soviet Union are irreversible. However, it should be clear that a society condemns itself to death if it stops carrying out the basic reforms serving to create democracy and freedom, if it resists the national aspirations for self-determination and underestimates the threat coming from the evil forces of the totalitarian regime.

Gorbachev Receives SFRY's Loncar

LD1009150691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1340 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sept 10 (TANJUG)—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev received today Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar, who is heading the Yugoslav delegation to the Moscow conference on human rights.

During the talks, the Soviet leader reiterated that the Soviet Union's stand towards the Yugoslav crisis has not been changed. He expressed regret over the slowing down of economic cooperation due to the current situation in the two countries. At the same time, however, Gorbachev expressed the hope that economic cooperation will soon start to develop and intensify taking into account the existing firm foundations.

He also set in greater detail his views on the further development of the situation in the Soviet Union. As it was learned, Gorbachev said that a change of internal borders in the new Soviet state is out of the question as this could have unforeseeable consequences.

Gorbachev also pointed out that it is now of the utmost importance that the economic agreement be signed in the Soviet Union, adding that a consensus on the matter has practically been achieved. We have to hurry, Gorbachev said, since the problem of energy, food and transport are very pressing, adding that if these are solved all the rest are solvable.

The Soviet Union will be constructed as a union of sovereign states, with a unique army and a unified command of the nuclear potential, Gorbachev said. The army will be reduced and rationalized, he said, adding that the forming of national armies would result in difficulties.

Loncar Addresses CSCE Meeting

LD1009175791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 10 Sep (TANJUG)—The signing of the document on peace in Yugoslavia and the opening of the peace conference in The Hague represent, I hope and believe, a first step on the road to peace and understanding, Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar said in his address to the CSCE conference on human rights which opened in Moscow this morning.

Loncar also expressed his hope that in Yugoslavia the political determination for the peace project to succeed will become stronger. The road to peace and understanding is the only path in the contemporary world through which all problems, even the most serious, can be solved, he said.

Budimir Loncar then briefly presented the main characteristics of the "Yugoslav vicious circle." Yugoslavia, in the form in which it existed, requires reconstruction. It is necessary to find a formula which will be acceptable to all and which will satisfy not only legitimate national aspirations and the need to integrate on new bases, but which will also be based on values that are acceptable on the eve of the 21st century.

The movement toward democracy, Loncar said, has brought negative secondary effects to the surface, effects which have become dominant. Nationalism has transformed all vital questions into a national question. The tendency to impose one single solution and to use force to resolve the problem have deepened the crisis.

Theses regarding the single territory of a nation have pushed aside individual interests for mass, collective, and particularly national interests. There is no place for real democracy and human rights within that framework, Loncar noted, adding that even problems of basic existence cannot be solved and that essential questions of human dignity have therefore been shelved.

I believe, Loncar said, that in Yugoslavia—which is sort of a European laboratory—all the problems and challenges of post-cold war Europe have been dramatically concentrated. "Much of the social fabric of Europe" is still being torn by strong resistance to necessary changes, Loncar stressed, adding that the transformation processes are "going hand-in-hand" with extreme nationalism and other negative tendencies.

It will be a great challenge to reply to the demands of a market-driven economy, human rights, and social justice. In the absence of adequate solutions, Loncar warned, Europe may face the risk of returning to a "pre-integration state."

Stressing that this would be a defeat for all European security and human rights, Loncar noted that success depends on the democratic maturity of the entire continent in facing controversies and responding to them with political, economic, and intellectual efforts. Such efforts on the broader European level are helping Yugoslavia to reject the road leading to chaos, Loncar concluded.

Loncar said that changes in the Soviet Union since the failure of the coup represent one of the biggest transformations of the 20th century. Concluding his address, Loncar hailed the independence of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and congratulated them on their admission to the CSCE.

Pankin Meets CSFR Counterpart

LD1109013791 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 2100 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] The Soviet Union: Jiri Dienstbier, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, arrived today in Moscow where he met his Soviet collegue Boris Pankin. Both ministers discussed the planned treaty on mutual relations and agreed that suitable conditions exist for this document to soon be completed in a form that is not detrimental to the sovereignty of the treaty signatories.

In connection with events in Czechoslovakia in 1968, Boris Pankin stressed that Soviet archives are open to Czechoslovak historians.

Jiri Dienstbier noted the possibilities of a three-sided economic cooperation between Western states, which have the capital; European countries, which have the production capacity; and the Soviet Union, with her market.

The Soviet side has expressed interest in specific proposals.

CSFR's Dienstbier Attends Meetings

LD1009180991 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Excerpts] The Conference on the Human Dimension attended by the states participating in the Helsinki process began in Moscow today. Jiri Dienstbier, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, is attending the meeting, along with other ministers of foreign affairs. Petr Voldan, our special correspondent in Moscow, reports:

[Voldan] [passage omitted] Minister Dienstbier took the opportunity to hold a number of meetings. However, we have been waiting most of all for information about his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev. The president received Jiri Dienstbier in his Kremlin study. He received a letter from Vaclav Havel containing an invitation to visit Czechoslovakia, which he has accepted. Their informal conversation then focused on the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty, over which there are no longer any problems; signing has been blocked in the past by conservative forces.

Jiri Dienstbier asked Mikhail Gorbachev to open the archives of the Communist Party and the Ministry of the Interior in connection with events of 1968 and the so-called "letter of invitation." Mikhail Gorbachev has promised to issue the necessary instructions. He was also interested in the so-called triangle plan, the plan to bring aid to the Soviet Union from Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary, using Western financing. The plan has not been accepted by Moscow so far because reactionaries in the leadership before the coup were blocking it to punish the former Moscow satellites for breaking away from the Union and the former socialist bloc.

This topic was also discussed at a meeting between Jiri Dienstbier and his British counterpart Douglas Hurd. Here is just one thought voiced by Hurd: Your idea has charm. I agree with it absolutely and we will be pleased to take part in it financially.

Jiri Dienstbier also focused on other problems. After meeting with the French minister of foreign affairs, he told journalists:

[Begin Dienstbier recording] We also spoke in very specific terms about the St. Petersburg Oblast's interest in buying food from Czechoslovakia and creating joint projects with Czechoslovak enterprises. There have not yet been any direct contacts, but their capacity and possibilities are vast, as is our industrial potential. We have to find ways to cooperate. [end recording]

[Voldan] We have awaited with great interest the meeting of Jiri Dienstbier and Eduard Shevardnadze. According to spokesman Egon Lansky, the former first diplomat is pessimistic and is not convinced of complete victory over the reactionary forces. Conservative forces, in his opinion, do enjoy support. Shevardnadze, like Gorbachev, expressed very cordial thanks for the support shown by our leadership and people during the coup.

We took the opportunity after the meeting to ask Eduard Shevardnadze for his assessment of the situation in the country.

[Begin Shevardnadze recording in Russian fading into Czech translation] Democracy, no doubt, has won a great victory, but there are still problems, above all in the economy. There are serious difficulties in relations between nationalities and concerning the Union—the old Union will no longer exist. [end recording]

[Voldan] That is all on activities in Moscow today. Tomorrow Jiri Dienstbier will address the conference on human rights.

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev Envoy Primakov Arrives Cairo

LD1009160491 Moscow TASS in English 1426 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Krutikhin]

[Text] Cairo September 10 TASS—Yevgeniy Primakov, personal envoy of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, arrived here today.

During a two day-visit he will deliver Gorbachev's message to the leadership of the Arab Republic of Egypt and will inform them of the state of affairs in the Soviet Union.

Apart from Egypt, Primakov will tour Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Iran, and Turkey.

Delivers Message to Mubarak

LD1109094391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0907 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Krutikhin]

[Excerpt] Cairo, 11 Sep (TASS)—Husni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, today received Yevgeniy Primakov, the USSR president's personal representative, who conveyed to him a message from Mikhail Gorbachev. During the meeting, the situation in

the Soviet Union, issues concerning economic cooperation between the two countries, and also problems concerning a Middle East settlement were discussed. [passage omitted]

Commentator Views Primakov Mideast Mission

LD1009205491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1930 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Commentary by Aleksandr Levchenko]

[Text] Yevgeniy Primakov, the USSR President's personal representative, has left on a tour of a number of countries of the Near and Middle East. Today he arrived in Cairo. At the microphone is our commentator Aleksandr Levchenko:

[Levchenko] The itinerary of the new near East tour of the Soviet president's personal representative passes through Saudi Arabia, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Iran and Turkey. According to official reports, in the course of meetings with the leaders of these countries there will be discussions on questions of development of political and economic co-operation in the new stage of development of our country. Primakov's diplomatic baggage also contains personal messages from the Soviet president to the heads of state of this region.

As I see it, the main attention during the mission of the president's personal representative will be given to the convocation in October of a conference on a settlement of the Near East problem. In particular as the time left before its planned opening is not so very long and the unsolved problems still persist. Primarily I have in mind the position of Israel, which refuses to take part in the conference if the composition of the Palestinian delegation includes representatives of East Jerusalem and persons connected with the PLO. It remains to be hoped that Primakov's Near East trip along with U.S. Secretary of State Baker's trip planned for the near future to the same region, will lead to positive change for the better.

Of course, in Primakov's meetings and talks with the leaders of the countries of the Near and Middle East there will also be discussion of the situation in the Soviet Union after the failure of the military coup. In Riyadh, Cairo, Tehran, and Ankara the development of events in the Soviet Union is being followed extremely attentively. The superpower's rapid and uncontrolled disintegration, in the opinion of observers in the Arab mass news media, could have a negative effect not only on the situation in the region but in the whole world too. Evidently the personal messages from Mikhail Gorbachev to the heads of state of the Near East which Primakov is taking with him will contain precisely the guarantee that in Moscow control of events has not been lost and the country's foreign policy course has not undergone change. But that is all supposition.

As regards the other task which the Soviet president's personal representative will try to carry out in the course of his tour, this is shown by the very composition of the membership of the delegation accompanying him: It comprises representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, Vneshekonombank, the Ministry of Economy and the Neftegazstroy foreign economic association. Of the six countries which Primakov will visit perhaps Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates are the only ones with which we have not had economic relations with on any scale.

It is of course early to talk about this but I do not rule out that his trip will provide a powerful boost to the development of mutually favorable cooperation with those countries as well, including the obtaining of the credits so necessary to our country now. Incidentally I should like to remind you that there is every foundation for such optimism. Indeed back on 12 January of this year Kuwait granted us special purpose credit amounting to $1 billion. And quite recently, at the beginning of August, in token of gratitude for the USSR's position during the period of the Gulf War, Saudi Arabia granted $1.5 dollars. But after the start of the coup in Moscow on 19 August this credit was frozen.

Supreme Soviet

Laptev Outlines Presidium's Tasks

PM0909152391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Interview with I. Laptev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, on 6 September in Moscow by I. Karpenko under the rubric "In the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium": "Parliament After the Congress"]

[Text] Immediately following the conclusion of the Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies, a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session was held 6 September in the Kremlin under the leadership of chamber chairmen I. Laptev and R. Nishanov. At IZVESTIYA's request, I. Laptev spoke about its work.

[Karpenko] Ivan Dmitriyevich, why did the country's Supreme Soviet Presidium have to meet so urgently?

[Laptev] It certainly was not for the reason that certain mass media reported—in order to postpone the date of the routine session from 17 September to 2 October. A session was quite simply necessary because the Congress resolution and the laws it adopted sharply change both the tasks facing the Supreme Soviet and its whole work procedure. All the Presidium members, chairmen of committees and commissions, and republic representatives had to urgently determine their role and the nature of their activity in the renewed parliament.

The Law "On USSR Organs of State Power and Management in the Transitional Period" gives only generalized legal norms for the new power structures' activity. So the main stress in the Presidium's work was on extending these norms and determining their operating mechanism. People in the republics and in the localities should know clearly what exactly needs to be done to renew the Supreme Soviet's membership. We are faced with the task of doing all we can to ensure the most favorable conditions for the activity of the renewed parliament, determining how to transfer all the accumulated legal capital most effectively, and helping it to sort out which of the laws are priorities and which ones can wait.

[Karpenko] Obviously the Supreme Soviet structure, its internal mutual relations, and cooperation with the new state power structures and the USSR State Council require major changes.

[Laptev] In practice, the previous parliament operated a unicameral system. In the renewed parliament—the law stresses this specially—the two chambers are autonomous. Therefore we have given the Presidium the task of devising a new structure and new coordination procedures for all committees and commissions. Certain questions proved possible to resolve within the preliminary discussion. We are assembling all the best legal forces in order to resolve everything we can, in strict accordance with the law, even before the opening of the first session of the new parliament.

As for coordination between the country's Supreme Soviet and the State Council and other new power structures, I would like to stress that mutual efforts by both sides, joint elaboration of ground rules, and a joining of forces are needed here. Otherwise we will make no progress.

Comparison of Decree on Coup Attempt

PM0509145591

Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian on 31 August 1991 carries in its Second Edition on pages 1 and 2 a USSR Supreme Soviet resolution. Comparison of the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA item, entitled "USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution On the Situation Which Has Arisen in the Country in Connection With the Coup d'Etat," with the translation of the Moscow TASS International Russian version published on pages 20 and 21 of the 3 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT reveals the following variations:

On page 21, first column, the tenth paragraph, sentence one, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reads:...and to institute proceedings against them...(omitting "criminal").

Same page, second column, fifth paragraph, sole sentence, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reads:...Soviet. (new paragraph)

10. To instruct the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's...(providing alternate translation).

Same page, same column, seventh paragraph, sole sentence, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reads:...of renewal of the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and USSR people's deputies are instructed to report back within one month to the electorate...(providing alternate translation).

Same page, same column, same paragraph, sole sentence, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reads:...USSR People's Deputies. (new paragraph)

The USSR Supreme Soviet; the Kremlin, Moscow; 29 August 1991...(providing signoff).

Congress of People's Deputies

People's Deputies Interviewed at Congress End

PM0909141991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Sep 91 pp 1-2

[Report from The Kremlin by parliamentary observers Vyacheslav Dolganov and Robert Minasov under the "Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies" rubric: "Candles Go Out, the Ball Is Over..."]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted]

Interviews in the Lobby

The results of the Congress are still to be analyzed and interpreted—by scientists and current affairs writers and, later on, by historians. But what are the first impressions of its participants themselves?

Nikolay Ignatovich (Belorussia): Of course, the "Soyuz" group, the Communists, and their ilk were somewhat dismayed—Gorbachev was very firm this time. And they were unable to counter the Joint Statement with anything constructive. But, all the same, I am left with some misgivings—maybe needlessly so. Note—they did not perpetrate a big scandal, although all the democratically-minded deputies were prepared for one and foresaw one.

There is an acute need now for legislative acts banning propaganda of totalitarianism, Stalinism, and other misanthropic "isms." In my view, Yeltsin quite rightly suspended the activities of PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, and other publications which only engaged in this propaganda. And yet they have now been revived, not without the assistance of our compassionate and charitable democrats. And, in my opinion, they have not changed. The CPSU will also try to revive itself in the same way under different slogans and banners, but with its former essence. To prevent this happening laws are needed, of which I am speaking.

And the Congress... Well, this is the result that was needed today.

Eduard Shevardnadze: I did not have the right to vote, for I was a guest of the Congress and was giving progressive deputies support from the street, so to speak. But I could not fail to be concerned about the outcome of events. For example, some deputies spoke of certain deviations from procedure. But this was necessary and had nothing to do with the "revolutionary legality" familiar to us—here I disagree.

The resolution adopted on the statement of the "10 + 1" makes it possible to at once begin moving in the right direction and to create a community of sovereign states, as Europe is doing. The latter has taken decades to do this. We, having world experience, can and must travel this path more quickly. I believe we will come both to create a unified economic space and to coordinate questions of defense and security. The most effective and promising direction is the formation of geospace for democratic transformations.

At the Congress there was no "work to break down the Union," as the group of "Soyuz" supporters believes. A process of a qualitatively new formation has begun. Therefore, if I had a deputy's vote, I would cast it for recognition of the independence of all the sovereign states, including the Baltic ones, which must make up this formation.

Nikolay Petrushenko (Kazakhstan): Behind the backs of the people's deputies, the leaders of the union republics and the country's president violated the standing orders and adopted an unprecedented decision—instead of Gorbachev's report, they made a statement. And the congress swallowed this, even though we are being pushed toward ruin.

Genrikh Igityan (Armenia): Let's work. OK? We have talked ourselves into a swoon over the past two-and-a-half years. Enough. To work!

Ex-Premier Ryzhkov Assesses Coup, CPSU Fate

PM0609092591 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 6 Sep 91 p 2

["Express Interview" with USSR People's Deputy N.I. Ryzhkov, former chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by SELSKAYA ZHIZN political observer Konstantin Shcheglov; date and place not specified; first two paragraphs are introduction: "If There's Harmony, There Will Also Be Grain"]

[Excerpts] Two subjects above all determine the debates at the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses' conference hall: the recent coup d'etat and the statement by the USSR president and the leaders of the union republics on the country's future system. Quite understandably they were the center of attention at meetings between SELSKAYA ZHIZN political observer Konstantin Shcheglov and people's deputies and guests at the extraordinary congress yesterday. [passage omitted]

During my conversation with USSR People's Deputy N.I. Ryzhkov, former chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, I could not keep pass over the events of August in the country.

[Shcheglov] Nikolay Ivanovich, if you had become Russian president as a result of this summer's elections, what position would you have held 19-21 August?

[Ryzhkov] I would never have backed those who headed the putsch. They are either suicidal or people with no idea of what they are doing and why.

The country does indeed have more than enough problems—you hear this now at every turn. But they cannot be resolved by tanks and armored vehicles. There is a parliament and an executive to do that.

Let me give credit to the firm position that the incumbent Russian president and Russia's parliament held. At the same time I am unable to understand a whole series of things that they said and did in the wake of the coup's collapse. Take, for instance, the closure of newspapers and the territorial claims that suddenly surfaced.

[Shcheglov] The members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency are mainly people with whom you worked for a long time. Could such actions have been expected of them?

[Ryzhkov] I have thought a lot about why they ventured to take this step and I am convinced that most of them

did not embark on this out of love of power. In my view, they were impelled by the highly grave situation in which the country finds itself today. But I still cannot regard or describe this step as anything but an adventure.

[Shcheglov] Nikolay Ivanovich, do you think that the CPSU has left the country's political stage forever?

[Ryzhkov] It is too early to bury the Communist Party. Certainly, it is now coming under attack and will obviously have to suffer these attacks for a long time yet. But specific people have to answer—those who were directly involved in or who backed the coup—not all Communists to a man. I am sure that this anticommunist hysteria now being fueled so assiduously by certain circles will pass and the CPSU will find its feet again. But on a qualitatively new basis, on the principles of the new Program. Although it has been dealt a very severe blow and its reputation has, to put it mildly, been well and truly damaged. Party ranks have, needless to say, diminished... Well, Communist Party membership is not for people with weak nerves today, much less for various kinds of hypocrites.

[Shcheglov] What do you think of the action taken by the party's leader, who abandoned the captain's bridge at this difficult time?

[Ryzhkov] I have an extremely negative opinion of this step that M.S. Gorbachev has taken. I remember Mikhail Sergeyevich always saying that he would fight to the end since he was conscious of the difficult situation in which the CPSU found itself. Literally the day before, at a press conference and meeting at the Russian parliament, he confirmed his commitment to socialist choice—the choice of the party that he had the honor of leading until recently. Then suddenly this statement came along...

Certainly, he was betrayed. But he was not betrayed by 15-16 million Communists but by a dozen of his closest comrades-in-arms. Therefore not only can I not approve this decision, nor can I understand it... It has not added to his prestige.

As for the party, it is for the party to decide its future. Just as the country is deciding its future during the years of perestroyka.

Poll Shows Lack of 'Sense of Reality'

PM0609093191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Sep 91 p 1

[Sergey Panasenko "Commentary": "Parliament Feels No Blame"]

[Text] Only one-fifth of the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet believe that the Union parliament is answerable for the putsch of 19-21 August, and just a few more—approximately one-fourth—are convinced that it ought to dissolve itself.

This is borne out by the results of a lightning poll of 177 members of the USSR Supreme Soviet and 90 USSR people's deputies, conducted 28 August by the Institute of Sociology of Parliamentarianism: an independent scientific research organization specializing in problems of representative organs of power. And whereas we already know that self-dissolution has not happened, a number of other statements by parliamentarians still remain in obscurity, and wrongly so.

For example, 74 percent of those polled confidently name the worsening economic situation as a factor which pushed the country toward the putsch. If you agree with this, then the high-ranking state leaders more or less responsible for this deterioration suddenly find themselves at the head not of a selfish conspiracy but almost of a popular uprising!

The parliamentarians' extremely high assessment of themselves and primarily of their ability to govern events also merits attention. Thus 81 percent of the legislators voiced confidence that the USSR Supreme Soviet—if it had met, of course—would have stood in the way of the coup. But, at the same time, just 28.8 percent of the deputies named the stance of the Russian Supreme Soviet, which—unlike the Union one—was functioning, among the factors which played a decisive role in the victory of democracy. I realize that de jure the powers of the Union and republic parliaments are not equal, and yet, in my view, the almost threefold discrepancy in the assessment of their potentials attests to a definite loss of a sense of reality.

Moreover, more than half of those polled now maintain that they had not ruled out the possibility of a coup being carried out. I would like to hear just what prevented this "more than half" from taking appropriate preventive measures.

However, the deputies' perspicacity gives rise to big doubts. Suffice it to say that, despite all the recent events, 51 percent of those polled made a positive assessment of the draft Union Treaty. At the same time just 26 percent tried somehow to forecast the country's further development (in other words, three-fourths turned down this honor). Making decisions without thinking of the consequences—do we not owe many of our misfortunes to this dubious tradition of our Union parliament?

Incidentally, the parliamentarians themselves do not think so: Just 21 percent pointed to the lack of proper analytical study of the consequences of decisions as a "risk factor" in our politics.

Political & Social

Bakatin, Dissident Bukovskiy Hold Dialogue

LD1009194691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1846 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Conversation between KGB Chairman Vadim Bakatin and dissident Vladimir Bukovskiy; place and date not given; from the "Unexpected Dialogue" program—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Bakatin] Is this your first meeting with the chairman of the Committee for State Security?

[Bukovskiy] Yes.

[Bakatin] I am no doubt the first committee chairman who knows so little about you. Those you have not met probably knew very intimately your whole story and no doubt were the cause, let us put it bluntly, of many unpleasant moments in your life.

[Bukovskiy] In addition to his official biography reported by the newspapers, I hardly know anything about Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin. I know that he was an oblast committee secretary. Then he was interior minister. We all seem to know better that period in his life, especially the way he was removed from the post. Perhaps that is all I know. [passage omitted]

You know you are the first KGB chairman I have ever met, and of course the first I have ever spoken to. I liked very much one of your remarks at a press conference, I think, or perhaps in an interview, when you spoke about the need for moral purification in the country in the wake of what was going on here for 73 years. Naturally the question of informers, people who collaborated with the KGB, arose, and I liked your desire to try and prevent people from endlessly accusing and persecuting one another and to head off the persecution of those who at one time got caught in that net.

Strange as it may be, I understand your feeling. Many expected that on my return I would want to pursue my vendetta, but that is not true. We have known those people for many years, and we know what was involved. Many or most of them are generally broken people. They were blackmailed and forced to do what they did not want to do. I know that very well from my cell wardens and from the agents who were sent to spy on us. Generally, I am indeed sorry for them myself, and of course you are right when you want to look for a solution that would prevent the abscess from bursting open and its pus flooding the whole country.

You said, if I remember correctly, that you would simply like to destroy their personal files. Am I right? [muttering from Bakatin] Or am I perhaps wrong?

[Bakatin] No, nothing can be destroyed. Perhaps destruction is the wrong method, although many are eager to do precisely that. My table is buried under a pile of telegrams I have received, all urging me to destroy the files. But that is the simplest idea. In fact in the midst of all this racket too much can be destroyed. You know how hard it is to sort things out.

You have of course touched on an interesting topic here. I have been thinking myself how the world is changing. It would seem that on your arrival here, you, as a person who have suffered so badly and so unjustly from that system, would want to demand the opposite, that is, that you would demand revenge on, punishment of, and justice done to those who at one time were unjust in relation to you.

Yet instead you say that you do not want that. You speak of supporting my idea, the idea that to me seems self-evident. My view is that any normal person would act like me: One must not now stir up things of the past, because that system indeed gave rise to the all-pervasive practice of spying on people and involved citizens themselves in that process. And you know, it is difficult to sort out now who spied on whom. The whole of society was a victim. Our society and all citizens suffered no doubt the most. Therefore, I will try to do my best to suppress all the dossiers on all agents and informers. I will stick firmly to this position, but I cannot guarantee that others will do the same. Such attempts...

[Bukovskiy, interrupting] You know, more than that should be done, no doubt. The fact is, as you can imagine yourself, the structure of this establishment will now be changing. Many will find themselves unemployed and will be forced to look for another job. Many of them will want to blackmail informers from their past. Life is such that certain people hold high posts, while others are climbing up the ladder in their careers, and many people may find themselves involved in detective stories. Of course none of us want to be involved in a detective story with murders and suicides that would run for decades. No one wants such horror. Perhaps it would even make sense to inform those people, to let them have a special telephone number in your committee to which they could appeal if someone tries to blackmail them, to give them some natural legal protection.

[Bakatin] Even more than that. You know, there may be many scenarios here. Let us even take the one you have mentioned. Say a former member of staff, who has essentially retained the habits of the previous ideology and of his previous mode of behavior, may try to begin that illegal campaign of mentally harassing someone, threatening that person with exposing his collaboration. I think that a law must be passed to cover this area. At any rate I thought... Naturally I am not ready yet, since these are my first days here. But as a matter of fact that is indeed a very serious matter. [Bukovskiy mutters inaudibly] At first sight it seems plain: Here are the archivess, let us open them, as it were, and everything will fall into place and be simple. The archives I have in mind here relate to the card index for agents. That is clear, of course. But at the same time I have already mentioned that all files, say, on repressions must definitely be opened.

[Bukovskiy] Right up to now a whole range of historical events cause controversies among historians. Many reputations were destroyed through disinformation and slander campaigns. In addition, the historians I know in the West have been arguing over matters such as whether there was an order from Stalin to kill Kirov, or whether Stalin did not know about it; whether it was German or his own money that Lenin used to travel back to Russia,

and many other issues. All this causes endless controversies. How many controversies exist around foreign affairs? The assassination attempt on the Pope, for instance! The Kennedy assassination is still generally a mystery.

You see it seems to me that we have a moral duty to mankind. We must solve these mysteries, objectively investigate them. My view is that it should desirably be done by an international commission, by a commission of prominent historians, naturally including our own countrymen, to make it absolutely objective before the whole world, you know. I oppose Nuremberg tribunals, but this one would be a tribunal of history, a tribunal to judge the ideology and the system, not people. We all understand man's fallibility and his characteristic of making mistakes. I think that it would be a very good conclusion to my activities, in particular, and the end of a chapter entitled: Communism in the World.

[Bakatin] You have touched at once on a whole range of very serious issues. I do not even know which one I should answer first. First, I do not think that the solutions of all the mysteries still existing in the world can be found in these archives.

[Bukovskiy] Perhaps not.

[Bakatin] Indeed, maybe not. It is possible, for instance, that we will not be able to find here anything on Kirov's assassination, because if there were anything to be found there, it should have been detected by now. After all, our history has had phases when conditions were already there for revealing these things. I simply do not know. I did not study that matter. I think that you are right about one thing: Archives concerning those riddles in which establishing the truth has great significance for history must be opened up. But I should like to go back to the beginning of our conversation—to the human factor in this problem.

So, we have by now fully covered the question of informers and agents. Everything is clear in that respect. There is now the question of the repressed, those who at one time were shot at the order of some sort of troykas.

All that must be made public. I have said that before; I have always believed and believe now that that must be made public and must be cleared up. Yesterday I held a meeting with many leaders of the republican Committees for State Security and a major question arose. You see, at one time I myself held in my own hand the file on my grandfather who was executed by firing squad in August 1937, just a few days before I was born. This file is very thin. It consists of an informer's report, interrogation, and the verdict [Bukovskiy echoes "a verdict"]—execution by firing squad. That is all. The informer's report, you see, contains the name of the informer, and I remember this name very well. Wake me up in the night, I will blurt it out. But I have no feeling or desire to seek that person out.

There are however certain traditions among the numerous nations of our country where people treat this sort of thing more seriously than, say, I do. The desire to take revenge and to sort things out—that sort of family and tribal feud—may emerge. Therefore, there is a very great danger here, a very great danger. A number of republican leaders, the leaders of the republics where this presents the greatest danger, have indeed raised this question from below, as it were.

[Bukovskiy] Yes, I see what you mean: vendetta pursued by families.

[Bakatin] Yes indeed, family and tribal feuds. Therefore we must lend thought to these things. We must watch out that we do not add yet another drop of gasoline to our society, stirred as it is, and that we do not cause any flare-ups. We discussed this subject in passing of course—not in any great detail—at the first sitting of the State Council. We have decided to lend thought to measures to prevent any explosion of excessive emotions.

[Bukovskiy] I fully agree with you. Undoubtedly, that must be prevented. Otherwise that could lead to more hatred and malice. Yet your and my task is to bury that period with dignity, having beforehand opened to mankind all that was hitherto unknown.

When we touch on the foreign activities of this establishment, let us not forget that it was not just confined to intelligence. It included the leading of international terrorism, and in some respects even drug trafficking and disinformation, a colossal disinformation network that this organization has built. This state will hardly be able to lead a normal life if you keep the body that retains that network. Moreover, this state has the obligation and a certain moral duty to societies abroad, to other countries, to help them rid themselves of all the evil created by that network. After all, we have intelligence organizations in addition to the KGB. There is the State Intelligence Directorate, for instance, a military intelligence organisation that is indeed mainly engaged in military affairs. But that is a separate matter. But what was at issue in that network was political intelligence. As a result, an enormous number of foreign activists found themselves involved with it or bribed or blackmailed. You see, that network must not be preserved. I understand all the difficulties involved in the dismantling of that system, but it must not be preserved. There will never be any trust to our country if we preserve that system.

[Bakatin] Well, the subject of intelligence is perhaps the most complex one for me today.

In fact, in relation to my activities, I have even moved the question of intelligence into the background of my personal schedule of priorities. I do not think that they have any documents on the criminal activity that you are talking about. If there are some factual instances of them, or some people having been involved in things such as drug trafficking or encouraging terrorism or

some other crimes, I naturally know absolutely nothing about any of that. One can of course suppose that some specific individuals were engaged in those things. People will be people. But I cannot know that for sure.

[Bukovskiy] But those are actual facts!

[Bakatin] If all that is true, there must be an inquiry, of course. But at present I just have no facts for this conversation.

[Bukovskiy] I understand that you cannot answer these questions now. I am just speaking generally.

[Bakatin] But it is very serious. Incidentally we all know very little about what this organization has been doing abroad. The only thing with which I can agree without any great reservation is that, generally, information, including disinformation or information bent to please certain leaders pursuing their own ideological or political aims, was indeed very skillfully manipulated through this department. What is more, I do not just have in mind information and disinformation in relation to its foreign activities. I remember, for instance, the kind of information that was circulated in Lithuania.

[Bukovskiy] That happened comparatively recently. In the past, however, it was even worse.

[Bakatin] Yes, that happened recently. The people were expecting their allegedly hateful government, which was at that time a perfectly legal government, to be overthrown. That is a result of very real disinformation, when half-truths ... true, certain people must have wanted that to happen. But one must not draw any generalizations on that basis.

[Bukovskiy] In addition you must surely understand that a whole number of Eastern European countries have failed altogether to find any files. These no doubt can be traced here: I have in mind [word indistinct] Czechs, Hungarians. We cannot leave these things as they are. You must understand me. I wish all the best to this country, for the sake of which I worked for many years...

[Bakatin, interrupting] After all you are this country's citizen, as far as I understand.

[Bukovskiy] True, I was never deprived of my citizenship, although I think they just forgot about me here. But one must live on, so I have adopted British citizenship. I am grateful to that country for refuge, but there has never been any formal decree depriving me of my citizenship. So I am still a Soviet citizen, as it were. After all, I have devoted all my life, or indeed 30 years of it at least, to working for the benefit of the future of a democratic Russia. I think about it now, too. I would like this country to be recognized by the world as an equal and cleansed of all that sordidness. I can assure you that one will not be able to do without that.

I understand what puzzles these problems present. This is why I believe that an international commission of prominent, objective historians notable for their good and unstained reputation and their Russian counterparts should be set up. It would be the body that could sort out these puzzles objectively and accurately. If people have simply developed paranoia in certain respects, then the commission could plausibly show to them that there is no evidence to substantiate their paranoia. On the other hand, if there is evidence, then the commission would present it. Naturally all this requires a lot of very careful and scrupulous work, but that is our obligation, I think.

[Bakatin] I have no doubt whatsoever that this is our obligation. Generally and fundamentally I fully agree with you that truth must be reinstated, or at least it must be identified. However, I cannot talk to you right away about conditions for setting up this international commission. After all one will have to look into certain legal aspects here. That we must move in that direction, however, is unquestionable.

What is more, as to all that concerns our intelligence and our activities abroad, citizens in this country—not only our citizens, but also society, even including scientists—were no doubt even less informed. That is taking into account the fact that the flow of information in that respect was very restricted. You know for yourself the way all that used to be. Yet some scientists abroad have been studying these matters for a long time, making use of some factual material, and have specialized in these issues for many years. It was no doubt in the interests of our department to keep all this secret. Therefore, many people here know nothing of that. So in principle, this idea must be adopted. However, we must lend some thought to the way it can be materialized judicially, among other things. We must lend some thought to possible consequences to avoid providing anyone with an occasion or an opportunity to hunt out and make short work of our foreign partners there who at one time may have been recruited or bribed. One must look into this, too.

[Bukovskiy] But of course there is also the question of our state's security. For instance, the experts abroad believe that thanks to its operations abroad, the KGB has accumulated such treasures by having had their own banks, their own fake establishments and enterprises, that it can safely exist and function for another 10 years, even if the KGB in Moscow were to be closed down altogether. These are the expert opinions in the West. After all, you cannot leave these things as they are, as they may prove to be your enemies in the future.

[Bakatin] First, I cannot ignore them, because one would want to obtain these expert evaluations to weigh them up. On the other hand, we will also perhaps be able to separate truth from falsehood.

[Bukovskiy] Well, Vadim Viktorovich. Let me wish you success, express my sympathy, and shake the hand of the first KGB chief I have met in my life.

[Bakatin] Thank you.

Barranikov Comments on Interior Ministry's Future

LD1009224591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1222 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Sep (TASS)—The main task facing the new leadership of the Union Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] is to place the activities of the USSR MVD on a firm legal foundation and to preclude any type of party influence. This was stated by Viktor Barannikov, the recently appointed USSR minister of internal affairs, at a news conference today.

According to the minister, a radical reduction in the apparatus of the USSR MVD, among other things, will come within the framework of its reorganization. "The professionals have nothing to fear." "There can be no question of any 'purge'," he stressed. During the course of the reorganization, priority will be given to strengthening the operational services engaged in the fight against crime, including organized crime. Viktor Barannikov said that "the overwhelming majority of former members of the ministry's collegium have already resigned, and an investigation is being carried out into a number of facts within the framework of the ministry."

Regarding the question of the role of the USSR MVD in investigating the activity of the putschists, Viktor Barannikov said that he personally "have had meetings in a confinement cell with all those under investigation, and briefed the investigation group dealing with this matter about the results of the meetings."

Replying to a question as to whether there are any plans to amalgamate the MVD and the KGB, Viktor Barannikov said that "we are thinking about this question, and at the moment we are examining this question ourselves, without Bakatin." In his view, "it makes sense to study this question seriously."

The head of the USSR MVD said that at the present time, the question of appointing Andrey Dunayev—who occupies the post of deputy minister of the Russian MVD—to the post of RSFSR minister of internal affairs is being examined. Regarding the head of the Moscow militia, Viktor Barannikov said: "The other day its head, Nikolay Myrikov, issued a report about his retirement on pension, which I have already signed." "I think that my position will prevail, and, as already decided earlier, Komissarov will be appointed to this post," the minister stressed.

Silayev on Economic Agreement Among Republics

OW1109101291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0905 GMT 11 Sep 91

[From "Express News No. 1"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ivan Silayev, the acting Soviet prime-minister, who met the head of the EEC Council of Ministers Hans Van den Broek in Moscow on Tuesday, has declared that the financial commitments of the previous cabinet to Western partners are guaranteed by the new leadership and in future by the inter-republican economic committee. Payments under the commitments of the previous government will be made by the republics in a centralized way, he said.

Accoring to well informed sources, Silayev thought that an economic agreenent of the republics can be signed within the next month or six weeks. He also said that by the end of September the acting cabinet will submit a program of economic reforms to the top leadership of the country.

According to Silayev, the two key short-term concerns of his cabinet are food supplies and the country's credibility. Food and medical equipment worth 6 billion roubles should be purchased

Among the pressing isues Silayev named the signing of an agreement with the EEC on a 500 million ecu food credit. He also said that the terms of the credit should be possibly advantageous.

According to the Soviet Prime-Minister, the presidents and heads of parliaments of the USSR, Russia and several other republics have reached an unerstanding on joint actions to solve the problem of food and consumer goods' supplies.

Silayev said that the credit granted to the Soviet Union will be used through central structures, including banking structures and the acting cabinet, later the inter-republican economic committee. He added that Russia can also use its own foreign currency reserves for purchasing goods.

Shevardnadze Discusses Coup, New Party, Economy

LD1009213191 Paris TF-1 Television Network in French 0005 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Interview with former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by Anne Sinclair on 8 September in Moscow; from the "Sept sur Sept" program—recorded; Shevardnadze speaks in Russian with superimposed French translation]

[Excerpts] [Sinclair] [Passage omitted] Good evening, Mr. Shevardnadze, and thank you for accepting the invitation from "Seven Out of Seven" right away here in Moscow, where something new happens every day. We are at the premises of your movement, the Movement for Democratic Reforms [MDR]. [passage omitted]

In December 1990 you resigned in protest over the approaching dictatorship and one wonders with regard to you—did you, as a long-standing friend of Mr. Gorbachev, want to protest over the risk of a dictatorship coming from Gorbachev himself, and in that case you would have been mistaken or, else coming from these opposition figures and in that case you had a primary political intuition?

[Shevardnadze] First of all, allow me to greet you in Moscow and to pass my best greetings on to the Parisians, to all those listening to us and all those watching us. As for the little historical summary, I find no fault with it: Everything is correct in your summary, everything is precise. As far as the core of the question is concerned, in December at the end of last year I did indeed speak at the session of the Congress of People's Deputies and the phrase was unleashed, a quite unusual phrase which surprised more than one person, that is, concerning the threat of dictatorship which was approaching: One has to say that at the time not everyone perceived that warning, did not react seriously, including my friend the president: He himself believed that there were no putschists on the horizon.

[Sinclair] But you thought the putschists were opponents of Gorbachev, you did not think for a single moment of warning against a dictatorship which might come from Gorbachev himself?

[Shevardnadze] No, I did not acknowledge that. No, I did not acknowledge that version in which Gorbachev might head an uprising to install a dictatorship and that is quite legitimate: If he had acted thus he would have been wiping out all the years of perestroyka and democratization. But a real threat has always existed, and it was not an emotional outburst which is how some people tended to explain my speech: It was rather an analysis, the result of a profound and detailed analysis, a social analysis of the relations of strength in society, with the result that I came to this conclusion and I decided to act in that way, to take that quite unusual step, unusual for our society and for our history, and I do not regret having acted in that way and not otherwise.

[Sinclair] Before coming to the events, to the putsch, just a further word about what happened before: You set up with Messrs Popov, the mayor of Moscow, Sobchak, the mayor of Leningrad—you are also close to Mr. Yakovlev who was the inspiration behind perestroyka—you set up the MDR, the Movement for Democratic Reforms. However, you only resigned from the communist party on 4 July last, if once again my notes are accurate. Why did you not resign earlier if you felt approaching the impossibility of transforming this country or the dangers which you yourself foretold?

[Shevardnadze] No, you know you are asking a difficult question there: I should have transformed myself. It is not a restful process, it is a very complicated process. Gorbachev said one day and with justification that we are all the children of our time. There was a time when there were communist ideals: We fought to put them into practice. And then gradually I became more and more convinced that everything in which we believe was for many people unachievable, that it was necessary to change. And one day Gorbachev remembered the phrase which I uttered at the beginning of the 1980's: I said that everything was rotten in our system and that everything had to be destroyed, everything had to be changed form top to bottom. So, I reached that conclusion. But at the beginning of perestroyka, I thought that the transformation of the party was possible, that the party could be rebuilt and then I saw that this was also an unachievable task. Then, speaking in Vienna, I said that it was necessary to create a parallel political grouping to the CPSU. Well I was threatened with being expelled from the party: They did not have to implement those threats as I...

[Sinclair, interrupting] You left yourself.

[Shevardnadze] Indeed. I left myself with a small delay, but in the end I left. As we say in our country and also in yours: Better late than never.

[Sinclair] We are going to come to the coup and your interpretation of the events, of the respective roles of Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, and then of course the three main questions today: What sort of Soviet Union are we speaking about henceforth? Second, how can the Soviet Union get out of economic chaos? And third, with which men and which institutions? [Passage omitted] What struck everybody was your reservations, indeed your suspicions, while Gorbachev was still detained in the Crimea. You reproached him for leaving Moscow, but above all you suggested that he was perhaps involved in the coup and you said to someone and I quote you: If Gorbachev was the instigator of this plot, he would be signing his own death warrant. You said that, moreover, a short while ago. Well, people did not understand that at that time you dropped him so early on when nothing had yet been played out. Did you have such strong evidence in order to have such strong suspicions, and have those suspicions been lifted today, or are you still asking yourself questions?

[Shevardnadze] First of all, why did I react in a relatively calm fashion? I was waiting, I knew that it would happen sooner or later as the situation was getting worse, was getting worse very rapidly in the country. On 17 [August] the political council of our movement reached the conclusion that a coup from the right was a real threat and a current threat. This meant that morally and psychologically—in all respects—I was prepared. As for my assessments: Do you know, and this may seem strange, but I would like to impart my impressions when I heard the broadcasts, when I became acquainted with the appeals by the so-called committee, I heaved a sigh of relief as I saw there with a particular clarity that—one had the impression that these were people who had been living in caves since 1985 and who had not noticed the change, the human change—they based their appeal on human support, and that was a very stupid mistake.

Now the question arises about Gorbachev. In fact I have never posed the question in these terms of instigator of the plot, of the coup, no. I have posed the question in another context. I said: Yes, it was difficult to imagine that the prime minister, the defense minister, and the head of the KGB, the minister of the interior, the president of the Supreme Soviet—in short his closest associates, his friends, theoretically it was very difficult

to rule out the participation of the president, but at the beginning, as I have told you I did not imagine Gorbachev as a dictator (?I have to say). But the question which I posed was the following: If he knew and if he had said yes, if he had given his approval, then he was incriminated like all the others. But if he did not know, and while he was isolated and could not therefore contact his people, I demanded that television journalists and reporters should be immediately admitted and that the people should see where he was, what he was doing, what his opinions were. The question was posed like than and in my opinion it was a quite legitimate question.

[Sinclair] Today you are relieved, you have the reply to the question: He is perhaps guilty of a lack of perceptiveness and certainly of having surrounded himself with people who in no way deserved the people's confidence, but are you certain today that he was in no way involved, that he was not aware of the coup being prepared? Have your doubts been completely lifted or not?

[Shevardnadze] Yes, I thought so and I said so..

[Sinclair] But today?

[Shevardnadze]...publicly, today also. And immediately afterwards I explained my attitude toward the coup and I am sure that the words were quite sincere. And then he has assumed his share of responsibility as we all have, we others, as the president—if he made a serious analysis of the situation preceding the coup—should not fail to acknowledge this.

[Sinclair] He is guilty of having analyzed the situation wrongly and of having surrounded himself with traitors, basically?

[Shevardnadze] Yes, these are very serious mistakes: The choice of men, the formation of the team,, yes, serious mistakes. He acknowledges this himself, moreover. And, then, second, the absence of a serious analysis concerning the social and economic situation, the attitude of the people and so on. And I think that a very serious mistake was made at that level also. One cannot allow the state of affairs to pass in silence.

[Sinclair] Do you continue to mistrust, to have reservations about Mr. Gorbachev or do you say what Boris Yeltsin said today: I trust him more today than three weeks ago. He has changed. Do you believe he has changed?

[Shevardnadze] Do you know, Gorbachev is in principle a very gifted man, a talented politician, and I think that he owes it to himself to draw the conclusions which are imperative. To judge by his way of holding the session and his speech at the Congress of People's Deputies today, he is above all a different Gorbachev, a Gorbachev who does not hesitate. Before, hesitations were a specific characteristic of his in recent times, but now he is a man who has put his stake, if one may express oneself thus, on the democratic movement, on the reformers, and who has finally turned his back on the conservatives. This is a key event.

[Sinclair] Do you still need Mikhail Gorbachev?

[Shevardnadze] The country needs him: do you mean the country?

[Sinclair] Yes, does the country still need him and do the reformers, the democrats, think today that he is useful where he is for the time being? You are not considering asking for his resignation? He has said himself that he has no intention of resigning.

[Shevardnadze] Today Gorbachev is needed as he was in 1985 at the beginning of perestroyka, and I do not see any other solution. The presidential responsibility is too great and it is impossible to take risks with that: I do not accept that way of looking at things. As for the future, as for the future of the president, if he puts forward his candidature, if he is elected in further elections by universal suffrage [indistinct interjection by Sinclair], it depends on his way.. the attitude he adopts, his way of behaving, on the measures he takes to get the country out of the catastrophic situation of crisis.

[Sinclair] We have spoken about Mikhail Gorbachev and the reservations you might have toward him; do you have total confidence in Boris Yeltsin? I mean, for example, were you not bothered at all by the measures he took like the banning of the Communist Party, like the dismissal of the director of Soviet television, did a certain number of measures not bother you and did you support him completely, not only in the conduct of the coup, or rather in resistance to the coup, but subsequently do you completely support Boris Yeltsin today?

[Shevardnadze] I tend to judge political leaders by their acts: There was a time when I did criticize Boris Nikolayevich during a plenum, myself and my colleagues. That criticism was perhaps not completely with foundation or else it did have some foundation on certain points. But today, as far as his practical activity in his post as Russian president is concerned, I think that he is demonstrating courage, competence; he has been able to create an effective team: they are people who think and who are very competent, they are researchers, specialists, and that is very important.

[Sinclair] : And the MDR ...sorry.

[Shevardnadze] As for his attitude toward the communist party, as for his ukase on the dismantling of the party, this ukase should have been drafted a year, a year and a half ago. It was not for Yeltsin to draft it, but Gorbachev, those of us who were at the helm of the Communist Party at the time. That would have been right.

[Sinclair] So it is legitimate for him to have taken measures which were not within his area of responsibility in the absence of any decision by the authorities which should have taken these decisions?

[Shevardnadze] Yes, it was undoubtedly a risky decision, but a courageous decision, and a useful one, very useful. I believe that it contributed to the mobilization of the democratic forces, and it was a very just move in view of the coup.

[Sinclair] Let us move on to the Union as it is today, the Union or at least what there is left of it: I recall that there is a seven-point agreement which has been signed by the 10 republics, in which each state is going to decide to some extent on the degree of its participation in the union; provisional bodies have been established—an executive state council, a council of representatives, of the people's deputies—I am giving a reminder of all this for the French listeners who are not always completely and precisely up to date with what is happening—a council of representatives, of the people's deputies, appointed by each republic. Does this agreement seem to you to be a good agreement, is it the best one possible, is it the minimum acceptable? I would like to have your opinion about this.

[Shevardnadze] In principle, completely legitimate processes are taking place here—it is democratization. What in fact is democratization? It is the advent of the independence, the sovereignty of states. The notions of sovereignty feature in the previous Stalinist constitution, it was a mere matter of form at the time, but now the people no longer recognize mere form rights, the people want real rights. As for the future of the Union, it will be a new, unprecedented formation that will have nothing in common with the union which we all know. It will thus be a real union. The center remains a necessary entity, with its duties, and the republics will have real independence. We have to achieve ideal cooperation between nations, ethnic groups and republics, and I am certain that we will achieve this. I have no feeling of panic, or that everything is collapsing, everything is being destroyed. If we act ably we will live permanently in a state of perfect understanding among all the peoples.

[Sinclair] If you are willing, we are going to go into some detail on each of the problems which are raised by this new union, but we are first going to have a very brief commercial break. We will be back immediately afterwards. [passage omitted]

Mr. Shevardnadze is receiving us and is commenting for us on the incredible upheaval of the coup which took place in the Soviet Union only three weeks ago, with all its consequences. We have been talking about the consequences for a union which will no longer be anything like it was before. Can one not basically say more simply that the central power will no longer be anything more than the delegation of the powers of the republics, that power today is the republics?

[Shevardnadze] Yes indeed, from now on it is up to the republics to establish, to define the reality of the central power and to define the responsibilities of the central power.

[Sinclair] You do not feel any nostalgia for the great Soviet Union, the Soviet empire? Basically, as Anatoliy Sobchak was saying the other day, it is the end of the USSR.

[Shevardnadze] No, we have gradually come to the conclusion that it was necessary to democratize the relations between the center and the republics, between the center and the regions, as is normal in any civilized country. We have come to the conclusion that everything needs to be changed fundamentally on the level of center-republics relations. I have no wish to dramatize events, I have no feelings of nostalgia.

[Sinclair] Do you see this future union as a confederation, as a European Community-style agreement? What kind of relationship do you envisage, how do you see things being sketched out, what will the union be like tomorrow?

[Shevardnadze] We are attempting to find the right words. I believe that union is the very word which is appropriate. There can be unions of states with different social and economic regimes, there can be unions of states which are scattered throughout the wide world.

[Sinclair] Mr. Minister, when one sees the difficulties experienced by the European states, which have nevertheless digested one another's national aspirations, when one sees the difficulties they are already experiencing in becoming integrated into a larger entity one has the feeling that the different states which will be the successors of the different republics - which have not yet pursued their national aspirations to their conclusion - are far from ready to be taking the path towards a new union already. Should the process not first go through a stage of dissolution and splitting up?

[Shevardnadze] I believe that the word break-up should not be used, I prefer a different formula - the advent, the construction of real sovereignty is taking place. The process is complex and contradictory. Yes, in fact the central power has nothing in common with what it was before—I agree on this point—but one must take into account that these are revolutionary transformations and in the context of revolutionary transformations there are many imponderables. There are even many naive approaches—there is much naivety in general—people are enjoying sovereignty, independence, autonomy, suddenly, just like that, there is all the euphoria, all the emotions, but time goes by and tomorrow, or a little later we will understand that there needs to be a European-style integration, but within a different context.

[Sinclair] Let us fairly briefly take some specific examples, if you will—for example, at the United Nations who will have the right of veto on the Security Council—will it be Russia, will all the republics, all the states, be accepted, who will speak - the Union?

[Shevardnadze] : I want all the republics to become members of the United Nations...

[Sinclair, interrupting] Yes, moreover it is in the agreement.

[Shevardnadze] ...but as for the Security Council it goes without saying that it is the Soviet Union which will represent all the republics and the position of the Soviet Union will follow on from the collective participation of the republics. This is, at least, how I see the matter, Soviet participation in the sessions of the United Nations, of the Security Council.

[Sinclair] On defense there is an agreement which has been reached among the republics, on the question of nuclear weapons who will have authority? Will it be the President of the Union, in agreement with the presidents of the different republics? In this question of the credibility of a country with regard to its nuclear deterrent, can one permit oneself to have rather diffused opinions or must one have a central, single decision, and who has this responsibility?

[Shevardnadze] Let us start out from the basis of the ways things are and let us hope that we will not need to press this button.

[Sinclair] Of course, but envisaging this solution is a matter of the credibility of a country's defense.

[Shevardnadze] I completely agree with you. As far as this right to press this button is concerned, in the event of a single military-strategic space it is the President of the Soviet Union who retains the right, and takes on the duty of military Commander in Chief, and in general the tendency in the republics with regard to this matter is sound, so what happens? A concentration in Russia takes place. As for changes with regard to the current conditions, well Russia obviously is laying claim to control over the nuclear arms, control over the stationing of the detachments which serve the nuclear weapons—it is a quite legitimate right, but as for the right to press the button, there is only one person empowered to do this. There cannot be two presidents, three or 10 presidents. As for consultations, advice will be given of course, but there is only one man who takes the decision.

[Sinclair] Do you think that the nuclear installations in the various republics should be dismantled, or would you not have any worries as soon s they are put under the direct control of the president of the union?

[Shevardnadze] There is only one problem you see, only one concrete problem. At that time [as foreign minister], I clashed with my colleagues. I proposed to accelerate the negotiations on the limitation of tactical nuclear weapons. This worries me because tactical nuclear weapons are spread over the territories of the republics. The speed should take place in that area [of negotiation] because it is dangerous for you as well as for us. As for the strategic weapons, real limitations are being agreed, there are agreements at this level and in addition, it is a system which is rigorously controlled and verified. As for the tactical weapons, they depend on our common determination. The sooner we eliminate this category of armament, the better. It is this problem that should be resolved as a priority.

[Sinclair] In listening to you, [one understands that] the president of the union still enjoys great power. Does this mean to you that this president of the union should be elected by universal suffrage? If this were the case, he would have a popular legitimacy which would grow stronger?

[Shevardnadze] As far as I am concerned, I am for universal suffrage and direct ballot. This is a fundamental question for me, and I have always expressed my preference for this kind of ballot, the universal suffrage to guarantee the real participation of the republics, and it is very difficult to settle this problem. As for the mandate, the presidential mandate, once elected by the republics, by (?the peoples) of the republics, it will become stronger.

[Sinclair] Do you wish, in this context, Mikhail Gorbachev to be a candidate? Do you think he still can be and if the answer is no, who would be the candidate of your heart, in fact who is today strong enough to assume [the responsibility] of this union and present himself or herself to the popular suffrage?

[Shevardnadze] The period up to the elections will give all the answers to all the questions and shed all the light. If President Gorbachev today manages to take real action toward recovery, especially of the economic and social situation of the country, I think he still has his chance for re-election as president. But there can be other solutions. As you know there are people who are emerging in the political arena. I am not talking of Yeltsin because he is one of the real candidates, if he wishes so of course. He is a great political figure of our time. Take a look at how Popov, the leader and mayor of a very large city, Moscow has emerged. Also Sobchak, who was head of a chair at the institute, now he is a politician of international reputation, a man of immense potential. There are so many people like that.

[Sinclair] What about Mr Shevardnadze? Can he be a candidate?

[Shevardnadze] No, no.

[Sinclair] Why?

[Shevardnadze] I have other occupations. I am...I have important occupations...my contribution to the party of the Movement of Democratic Reforms, the constitution of the foundations of this movement. I think it is a very serious and important task. But there should be younger people, younger men.

[Sinclair] Let's talk a little about the economy. As you said yourself, winter will be very difficult, the harvest is bad, production is plummeting, inflation increasing sharply. What can democracy do to prevent lines in empty food stores?

[Shevardnadze] You have just touched the most sensitive point for us at the moment. I mentioned the threat of dictatorship, perhaps there is no further threat but danger remains. I am afraid of uncontrolled and spontaneous movements. The people are tired and food is lacking. I am afraid of spontaneous movement...

[Sinclair, interrupting] Popular uprising against hardship?

[Shevardnadze] Yes. In fact this should not be excluded. It would be irresponsible to exclude this possibility. One does not know who would take the vanguard, the far right? The left? There is worry.

[Sinclair] Do you expect—I imagine—Westerners to do more than what they did at the summit of seven in London last July? Is not guarantee the major problem for the Westerners? When they lent to the republics, they knew that the union was the guarantor of debts. Should the Westerners help every republic tomorrow? Should they help the center? Who will be responsible? Who will be the guarantor?

[Shevardnadze] You see, I don't mean big loans. We don't have money at our disposal. I don't know if there is free capital in France. I know that you would like to help us. I know the attitude of France and French people.

[Sinclair] There are agreements which were signed with France last December and which have not had even a start in their implementation because in fact here no decision was taken, but there are large loans which were worked out?

[Shevardnadze] (?What I mean is something else). You see, if all past, present and future agreements are translated into reality, that is a total of 1 billion or one and a half billion [currency not specified], which is very little in a country of 300 million people. The main thing for us is to create the real conditions for the reception of foreign investments. Then your businessmen will accept that situation and public and private companies will accept it too. But this will take some time. For the moment we have not managed to create the necessary conditions. The law has been passed, but it should be detailed. The law has well and truly been passed and our federal and republican officials should get on with the task of implementing it, so that the businessmen who are interested in investing money in the USSR can do so.

[Sinclair] What can give them [businessmen] confidence in your opinion? What would make them invest, and once again I put to you the question on guarantees which seems to me the real question?

[Shevardnadze] Their determination should result from their certainty on making profit, gains, otherwise investments [word indistinct]. As for the guarantees, the union is not the only guarantor. The autonomous republics which solve their problems and can undertake large-scale projects concerning the building of companies, organizations, and the exploitation of natural resources are also guarantors. In brief, all sorts of horizons are opening up. Take Kazakhstan, Central Asia, the Far East...there are infinite possibilities...Ukraine, Belorussia, infinite possibilities, big markets.

[Sinclair] One last word, because we are approaching the end of the program. The communist party no longer exists today, or in other words, the leadership of the party no longer exists. I saw earlier today in the streets of Moscow the building of the communist party central committee with seals [on the doors]. Has the party been hit at the leadership level? Do you think there remain ramifications in the republics, in all the state's bodies or do you think it has been completely removed, and are you pleased with it?

[Shevardnadze] Concerning the real participation of the Communist Party in state management, it would not be right. But at the same time one should not advocate total collapse and destruction [of the party]. The Communist Party has the right to exist. It should exist within the framework of the constitution, within the constitutional framework.

[Sinclair] It is not the case at the moment?

[Shevardnadze] Yes but the status quo will be re-established. In fact we expressed our position regarding the opposition, which should be respected. It will not be an opposition of the old fashioned kind if one can put it this way. As for the communist party, I think it will remain within a certain framework. It will function, and future generations will decide what to do themselves.

[Sinclair] One last word, Mr. Shevardnadze. Once again you warned the world before anybody else about the catastrophes awaiting your country. Are you a more optimistic pessimist today? Do you have reason for being enthusiastic, optimistic and what are they? Briefly, what are your reasons for being hopeful?

[Shevardnadze] For the moment I don't see reasons for being very optimistic because the instability of the Soviet Union constitutes a very big threat to the whole world, for Europe, including France. Take any country and you will see our impact in the world. Thus my worry remains there especially because of the economic difficulties, the fact that the country is going through a crisis which is getting increasingly worse. If we don't manage to stop this process, it will be difficult for us to forecast the consequences. Still, I would not like to fall into this very pessimistic scenario, according to which the situation is hopeless. The country is big [word indistinct] but rich, the people [word indistinct], take the level of education, the intellectual level, the IQ of all the peoples who live in the Soviet Union. If we act courageously, if we carry out radical reforms at the economic and political levels, if we create conditions for the normal functioning of all the elements of state management at republican and regional levels, I can see a positive prospect. But everything depends on us, including democrats and reformers.

[Sinclair] One last word. Would you say that you have six months to make things move, for something to happen, for opinion to see that considerable efforts are being made? How long would you give yourselves? If you had to work out an agenda, what would you say?

[Shevardnadze] The difficult months are the winter months...getting through winter...March, April. We are going to feel all the difficulties. So we have to protect ourselves as soon as possible. I am worried because we wasted time. Instead of resolving problems of real life, people carried on sterile debates at the people's congress-...four days and the harvest being lost. We have to work. Only highly efficient work and high responsibility of everyone toward their tasks can save us. We are aware of this responsibility toward our country and toward the whole world.

[Sinclair] I thank you Mr. Shevardnadze for participating in this program. I would like to say good luck to you, as you said the coming months will be difficult for you.

Shevardnadze Calls for Open Trial of Plotters

LD1009182491 Moscow TASS in English 1807 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, who resigned from the post of Soviet foreign minister last autumn, knew nothing about the coup plot because he had been isolated from the powers that be long before the plot began to be hatched.

Shevardnadze, who warned people of the "upcoming dictatorship" in his resignation speech, called, in an interview MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS newspaper published today, for an open trial of the August coup plotters, even if the trial hears facts compromising President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Evaluating the Soviet president's actions, the former foreign minister said he was sure Gorbachev had known nothing about the preparations for the coup and that "a certain shadow power" was acting behind his back.

Nevertheless, according to Shevardnadze, the president should take the responsibility for what happened, he is not exculpated even by his isolation in Foros.

However, Shevardnadze is sure that the president "has finally turned his face towards democracy and should not step down now".

The former minister said the behavior of Boris Pankin—the then Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia appointed foreign minister in the wake of the coup, deserved every praise. Along with this he said he opposed ferocious accusations levelled against Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, who, according to Shevardnadze, "displayed uncommon courage by crossing his own name from the list of coup plotters.

Shevardnadze rejected downright the label of an enemy of the Georgian people, President Zviad Gamsakhurdia of Georgia was trying to stick on him and said it was "no more than the figment of imagination obsessed with seeking an enemy image".

As regards the country's future, Shevardnadze said he was not optimistic because in the catastrophic situation reactionary forces will seek revenge "if people reduced to despondency turn out in the streets".

According to him, to avert this is it necessary to stabilize the economy in one way or another and accelerate the process of giving shape to the democratic movement".

Bovin Article Views Putsch Aftermath

PM1009130991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Article by Aleksandr Bovin: "From Perestroyka to Revolution"]

[Text] It seems to me that the concept of "perestroyka'-'—both psychologically and in essence—has become (or is becoming) obsolete. Psychologically because it was as it were garbed in positive emotions, linked with a universal revolution of hopes, with a euphoric consciousness, and spiritual exultation of which little now remains. In essence because perestroyka began as a typical revolution "from above" with all its inherent limitations: It was "planned" as relatively limited in time, a regulated operation carried out under strict party control during which we would indeed restructure ourselves and improve our old home and not erect a new, fundamentally different, structure.

Life and the development of events began quite rapidly to upset this scheme. New horizons arose spontaneously. But Gorbachev and his increasingly strange team, performing elegant and less elegant pirouettes, turning now left, now right, taking one step forward or two steps back, in fact found themselves unable to lead perestroyka purposefully.

Another paradox. We were helped and saved by the abortive attempt at a palace coup. The wave of anger, protest, and resistance it raised, the cobble stones wrenched from the Krasnaya Presnya sidewalks, which became the weapon of the intelligentsia, marked a new stage, a new phase of our development. In my opinion we can speak—with all kinds of reservations, but we still can speak—of the start of a revolution "from below," a truly democratic revolution.

To be more precise, we are faced with two revolutions, two revolutionary currents.

The first, remaining at the political level, may, albeit somewhat conditionally, in anticipation of events, be called the popular-democratic current. From it stem the greater degree of radicalism and certainty, the fewer

half-measures, halfheartedness, and dubious compromises. The aim is the real democratization of all public life, the full, and not curtailed, implementation of the citizen's rights and freedoms including—as a journalist I must mention this—freedom and independence of the press and uncurtailed glasnost.

At the socioeconomic level matters are proceeding toward the complete dismantling of "barracks" socialism and its replacement not with "renewed" socialism ("back to Lenin!") but with one of the versions of neocapitalism (post-capitalism, social-capitalism, and so forth—the imagination is fertile) in the Austrian or Swedish manner. With, if we have the wit, our own specific features.

Our grandfathers and fathers lost the battle for a "bright future." We are retreating with heavy losses. The market is a very bitter medicine. It is important to keep a clear head, not to succumb to meetings zeal or to the prophesies of the newfound market prophets, not to declare black everything that used to be called white. And vice versa.

I repeat, we are retreating, but the disintegration of the monopoly state party, the CPSU, in my view in no way means that in the society which is being established, within the framework of the multiparty system and pluralism, there will be no place left for people and parties preaching the socialist choice or for believers in the communist ideal. Future history is free choice for our children and grandchildren.

The second line, the second revolutionary current, can be viewed as the national-democratic revolution, as the definitive and irrevocable collapse of the last world empire. In literally a few days all the artificiality, all the traditionalism of the structures on which the Novo-Ogarevo draft Union treaty rested were revealed. The uncurtailed, full—in the sense of international public law—and so to speak conscious independence of every republic (state) has been adopted as the initial platform for any possible mutual relations.

This explosive process which, to use the expression of my colleague O. Latsis, broke through "the dullness of the age-old imperial consciousness" has a diverse nature. It cannot be ruled out that in a number of cases independence will be used as a barrier against the "export of democracy," as a means of preserving "national-communist" despotic regimes. As a whole it must be noted that the "nine plus one" formula has lost its point. The center as the word is usually understood is in the process of disintegrating. That is the "unit"—with a grim silence from some RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] politicians—has to be replaced with "zero." As for the other side of the Novo-Ogarevo formula, it is expedient to replace it with "X" because so far it is unclear he will want to take a place in the new as yet nonexistent state formation. And so "X plus zero" is the conclusion to which the Congress of USSR People's Deputies came (or was led) 5 September.

A transitional period has begun. No one knows where it will lead or to what. Objectively the collapse of the USSR will bring no advantage to anyone either inside the Union or outside. But subjectively the picture is different. In the foreseeable future centrifugal tendencies will obviously outweigh centripetal trends. The number of UN members will increase. Theoretically (if each of the 15 new states establishes diplomatic relations with the other 150) 4,500 new ambassadors will emerge. All this is undoubtedly impressive. But in the long term geopolitics and economics may somewhat change the number of degrees of freedom and the specific gravity of these trends. It is not out of the question that the USSR's place may eventually be taken by a Eurasian community of nations.

For many, very many, people the collapse of the CPSU and the disintegration of the USSR are a very profound personal drama, if not a tragedy. I well understand such people because I am one of them. But talk of emotions is is a special and different talk. And we, those who need this talk, will return to it again. Here I have striven to show events as they are perceived not by my heart but by my head.

TASS Reviews 10 Sep Soviet Central Press

LD1009070191 Moscow TASS in English 0641 GMT 10 Sep 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—"I do not think there is a genuine threat of a leftist dictatorship," sitting speaker of the Russian Federation parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov said in an interview published in PRAVDA today.

"There is not such threat, but it is not yet time to celebrate victory: An attack by the most vehement reactionary forces has been repelled. A new offensive should be expected," Khasbulatov said, commenting on the possibility of a "dictatorship of democrats" in Russia.

The Russian parliament will meet on September 19 to discuss a package of economic laws to chart the course for market reforms, he said.

PRAVDA carries an interview with Professor V.S. Martemyanov, who speaks about the suspension of the Soviet Communist Party. The suspension violates the Soviet Constitution and the declaration of human rights, Martemyanov said.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA interviews Chief of Soviet General Staff Vladimir Lobov. Lobov comments on military reforms. He is also interviewed by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishes a statement by several Russian parliamentary committees on the situation in Georgia. The latest developments in Georgia violate human rights, the document says.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA carries an interview with Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev, who speaks about the economic situation in Russia.

Despite economic difficulties, the Russian government does not intend to curtail social programmes, Silayev said.

The Russian government risks ending up under the influence of businessmen determined to take hold of the bulk of surplus product, created by workers, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA writes, commenting on Silayev's statement that his government will rely on entrepreneurs.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA reports that Georgian President Gamsakhurdia is suppressing the opposition with force.

In Azerbaijan, re-elected President Mutalibov has promised to reform the economy and solve the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh.

In Kazakhstan, the Communist Party has split from the Soviet Communist Party and renamed itself the Socialist Party of Kazakhstan.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA comments on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's interview with the world's major TV companies.

Yeltsin's assurances that Russia is firmly committed to democracy are good to hear, however, these assurances will not replace concrete economic programmes or at least explanations about economic strategies, it writes.

"Perestroyka has ended, talks have begun," Russian state adviser Sergey Stankevich told NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. The road to the union of independent states will be long and tough, its initial form, however, will be clear within six months, Stankevich said.

PRAVDA comments on the Soviet role in a Middle Eastern settlement. The break up of the Soviet Union has reduced its influence in the world and the Middle East, PRAVDA says. The Soviet Union should refuse to take part in a conference on a Middle Eastern settlement, it writes.

Reviews 11 Sep Central Press

LD1109064191 Moscow TASS in English 0539 GMT 11 Sep 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Today's newspapers highlight the third session of the 35-nation conference on the human dimension which opened in Moscow on Thursday.

Newspapers publish Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the forum. Gorbachev welcomed the international community "which supported us at a critical time during the onslaught of reactionary forces, proving that the Helsinki Act and the Paris Charter are not just beautifully-written texts."

Gorbachev spoke about the August 19-21 putsch, the results of the Fifth Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the forming of a new union.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries the full text of his speech.

Newspapers carry extracts from speeches by foreign ministers at the forum.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA carries extracts from Raisa Gorbachev's autobiography.

Several stories focus on the failed August coup in Moscow. TRUD writes about the career of Gorbachev's chief of staff Valeriy Boldin. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA runs an interview with defensive lawyer Genriy Reznik. It also interviews the wife of former Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov, who said that she learned about the putsch only when she heard the roar of tanks on Moscow streets.

Yazov "was very sincere in his actions and was very concerned with what was happening in the country," she said.

PRAVDA carries an interview with former Leningrad Communist Party chief Boris Gidaspov. The disbandment of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee is a "blow in the back", Gidaspov said, denouncing Gorbachev's retirement as party secretary.

TRUD writes about the situation in Georgia, PRAVDA—about the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and the Checheno-Ingush Republic, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes about the situation in Moldova, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA—about the situation in southern Ossetia and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA—in Georgia.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries a feature about French Defence Minister Pierre Joxe, in the run up to his visit to the Soviet Union.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA writes about U.S. plans to send astronauts to Mars in 2015.

Economic

Yavlinskiy Plan for Economic Union Detailed

PM1009230591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[I. Demchenko article under "Events and Commentary" rubric: "Economic Union Without Political Conditions—This Is How G. Yavlinskiy's Group Sees It"]

[Text] The preamble to the draft treaty on an economic union submitted by G. Yavlinsky to the State Council says:

"Independent states and current and former components of the USSR, irrespective of their present status, affirming their right to autonomously decide all questions of socioeconomic development..., wishing to establish normal relations between peoples and protect citizens' economic interests, taking account of the USSR's crisis and the need for a cardinal review of the whole complex of relations between states that are part of it, believing that solving political, defense, property, and humanitarian questions in relations between states requires time... conclude this treaty on an economic union."

The document's text, according to those who drafted it, deliberately did not broach defense and political questions. They believe that this is a problem for other treaties and, perhaps, a question of a more remote time. But this document concentrates only on the economy, which now remains perhaps the only platform on which talks between former republics can be held realistically and gainfully. Incidentally, it is typical that the word "republic" is absent from the document. All participants in the economic union are recognized as sovereign states that are guaranteed full independence.

A Unified Legal System Operates on the Economic Union's Territory

Voluntariness and equal rights are proclaimed the basic principles of their participation in the Union. The draft treaty envisages the regulation of exclusively economic mutual relations between partners, which can be states that are or are not part of the political union of sovereign states. The possibility of associate membership of the economic union is envisaged for states that are part of the USSR and are prepared to take on only some of the commitments specified by the document. Mutual relations with republics that have not joined the economic union are organized in the same way as with foreign states. All these "degrees of economic relationship" between former members of the USSR are very precisely regulated depending on the amount of commitments assumed.

The document says that the economic union's member-states agree to pursue a coordinated policy in the spheres of enterprise, movement of goods and services, financial and credit policy, finances and taxes, prices, the labor market and social guarantees, customs regulations and tariffs, foreign economic activities and currency policy, various state programs, standardization, metrology, patents, statistics and accounting, and questions regarding the legal regulation of economic activity. The commitments accepted by union members make them economically responsible both for fulfilling the treaty and for taking steps that jeopardize it. Throughout the economic union's territory, a unified legal system for economic activity is established for physical and legal persons irrespective of their residence permit, citizenship, place of registration, and so on. This will obviously stop and prevent the continuance of the war of laws, resolutions, banks, and so on, the destructive consequences of which have taken such a ruinous toll on our economy.

The document's draft says that the economic union's organs are an interstate economic committee, a banking union, and an economic union arbitration service. Key economic policy problems are discussed at a conference of leaders of states' governments, who have the right of veto over decisions of the interstate economic committee and its chairman.

The Economy's Foundation Is Private Ownership and Free Enterprise

Free enterprise is proclaimed the foundation for the growth and development of the economy and is guaranteed in the whole space within the economic union's framework. Priority is given to private ownership. A state's interference in enterprises' economic activities is limited by legislation and will evidently be reduced to minimal economic regulation. Goods and services will be transferred within the unified economic space freely and duty-free, and the restrictions operating in this connection will be lifted. The principle of free movement is also declared for the work force. In any event, participants in the economic union must endeavor to create the conditions for this, which includes the formation of a housing market and evidently—although the document does not say so—the abolition of the institution of the residence permit. Deliveries of the most important types of goods and services at agreed prices in the transitional period will be carried out on the basis of bilateral and multilateral interstate agreements. Generally the document's section on pricing policy is one of the most laconic, and its basic concept is that the economic union's member states conduct a coordinated policy of transition to free price formation.

A Single Currency and a Coordinated Financial and Credit Policy

It is suggested that states that have signed the document recognize the advantages of retaining the ruble as the common currency of a united monetary system on the economic union's territory and make efforts to strengthen it in 1991-1992. The achievement of internal convertibility of the ruble is named as one of the most immediate tasks. The introduction of national currencies is allowed here, but on the condition that they do not undermine the strength of the ruble. At least two points stem from this. First, evidently the population on the economic union's territory—if it has been concluded with these rules—will have to live on several types of money that can be converted into each other, which is obviously not very convenient. This is especially inconvenient for enterprise, which must be carried out freely in the whole space of the union. Second, consequently national currencies will right from the start be put at a severe disadvantage compared with the ruble—because, as has already been said above, nothing must restrict the freedom of enterprise.

It is proposed to found a banking union of central banks of states that have signed the treaty to elaborate and conduct an effective monetary and credit policy on the principles of a reserve system. This will do away with the monopoly of the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] in making key decisions in the sphere of credit and financial policy and will finally make the banking system really independent of executive authority. The draft treaty specifically makes the banking union responsible for regulating the ruble rate in relation to other currencies, disposing of the gold reserve and foreign currency reserve (should such a thing appear), regulating the general rules regarding commercial banks' activities, fixing the limits of central banks' participation in the crediting of budget systems, and organizing cash circulation.

This measure, combined with the coordinated budget and tax policy of economic union participants, will evidently enable sovereign states' budget deficits to be limited for some foreseeable time, if only to some extent. Now, as is known, the deficit levels are enormous: For example, Russia's is around one-third of the whole budget and Georgia's is almost one-half—it is as if republics are competing with each other as to who can succeed in squandering the most. The draft says that in the event that the prescribed limits for the growth of the internal debt are exceeded, the sum is officially registered as debt liabilities to the rest of the economic union's members. The USSR's internal state debt is reregistered and is basically divided between the economic union's members. It is informed that commitments made on behalf of the USSR to investors in the USSR Savings Bank and to owners of valuable securities will be honored. Furthermore, the economic union declares itself the assignee of all the USSR's foreign economic liabilities and guarantees that they will be met. It is considered necessary to conclude a special agreement that will specify the share of each component of the former USSR in the total sum of the external debt and in the total debt of other countries to our state.

The document envisages the creation of an economic union budget to finance general expenses. It is proposed that contributions to it are determined in the form of a fixed proportion of produced national income or according to another objective indicator. The document records that this budget cannot be in deficit; that is, it does not allow a situation whereby the union members refuse to pay their share of it—as republics are now doing in relation to the USSR union budget. In addition, nonbudget funds for financing targeted programs are created, and one of them is designated special: the fund for the accelerated development of certain regions.

Very Rapid Inclusion Into the World Economy

Foreign economic activity by union members will be geared toward achieving the very rapid inclusion of states and entities engaged in economic activity into world economic ties. The consent of all participants in the economic union is required to obtain new foreign loans. Here the right of states participating in the union to obtain foreign loans and credits autonomously is not excluded, if they take responsibility for servicing and clearing them.

A large section of the document is taken up by a list of agreements that, aside from the treaty, should regulate economic relations between union members. The agreements will determine, specifically, the status and powers of the union's organs, rights of ownership on its territory, the procedure and conditions for the introduction of national currencies, antimonopoly policy, mutual commitments in the sphere of pension provision, the procedure for resolving property and other disputes, and so on. It is proposed that the economic union be initially concluded for five years.

It is obvious that the text of this treaty—and the authors of the "500 days" program are still talking about the need to conclude it very soon—can really serve as a basis for consolidating all republics, society's progressive forces, and leaders who have not lost the ability to interpret events constructively. Its great advantage is its lack of political coloring, which makes it a good basis for talks between authorized representatives of states, irrespective of ideological convictions, nationality, creed, and so on. It is evidently the best chance of agreement: first, because the more time that goes by, the bigger everyone's mutual claims and commitments become, which makes it harder to reach any kind of understanding in principle; and second, because the rapid destruction of the old state structures threatens to bury under the debris not only a unified state but also some of its components—and this is what is now happening in a number of "hot" regions.

As is known, the draft document has been sent out for familiarization to a wide circle of specialists and political figures, including leaders and members of the parliaments and governments of all the republics, leaders of political parties and economic associations and unions, entrepreneurs and economic leaders, ambassadors of leading states, and foreign experts. Evidently discussion of it will very soon be started by the State Council, members of which were the first to receive the document at first hand.

Shatalin Cited on Economic Community Convention

PM0609083691 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 3 Sep 91 p 3

[Interview with economist Stanislav Shatalin by Jolanda Bufalini; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] Moscow—[passage omitted] [Bufalini] Professor Shatalin, you seem to be back at work. Is there another economic plan in your drawer?

[Shatalin] I am very pleased with the work done with the republics. We are working on the idea of a convention on an economic community. The representatives of all the republics are agreed, except for Mircha Snegur, the Moldovan president. The basic idea for the convention

is that it be created by free states. It concerns not just the Baltics but all the republics. Furthermore, I think that the convention should be extended to the countries of the former socialist camp. I have spoken with the ambassadors of Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. We must work on an open community in which Germany too should be interested, because the former GDR too needs an undeveloped market such as ours.

[Bufalini] So are you optimistic?

[Shatalin] Yes, I am, but some political steps should be taken that have not yet been made and that do not seem imminent to me.

[Bufalini] What are you referring to?

[Shatalin] The recognition of the republics' independence. If this step were taken, rapid progress would be made toward economic stabilization. I am absolutely sure that political independence will facilitate economic union.

[Bufalini] But the Ukraine is already raising the issue of its own currency and customs barriers: How do you think these problems can be tackled?

[Shatalin] The customs and duty problem depends on currency policy, credit and finance policy, and the labor market. Not everything can be clarified immediately, but I am sure that no political pressure must be put on the Ukraine. I do not believe that the Ukrainians are willing to sign a political treaty of union, but at the same time I am convinced that they will not leave the economic area that binds the three Slavic republics—Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia. In any case, fortunately it has been made clear that there are no border problems, and the Ukrainians do not want strategic weapons.

[Bufalini] So are you optimistic about the country's present situation?

[Shatalin] I am optimistic inasmuch as there will never be a Serbo-Croatian problem. However, I am worried about what people will be given to eat and about energy supplies for heating. These are the problems, and here resolute steps toward the market economy are needed. The stereotype still operates whereby the emergency problems must be dealt with first, and then economic reform. It is an illusion. Both must go hand in hand. Take grain. I have discussed it with the Lithuanians, who told me that at the moment they are hiding grain because it is not profitable to sell it. There is no problem with stocks; everything is available. But if you presume to secure supplies by means of an iron fist then you will obtain nothing: The peasants, as always, will find a way of concealing what they have.

[Bufalini] A final question: What role do you assign to Gorbachev in this process?

[Shatalin] I do have an idea in this regard, but it is too early to explain it. The fact is that if we have to accept de facto that the country no longer exists, then there can be no president. A community does not have a president; if anything, it has a king. But I believe that common sense will prevail.

Statistics Given for Joint Stock Companies

OW0609215691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1532 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As of August 1, there were 1140 joint stock companies and limited liability companies in the USSR having an aggregate authorised capital of more than 23 billion rubles [R]. Experts predict that the number of these companies will increase drastically in the near future.

The main problem is that the growth of the corporate sector and the creation of a securities market in this country are well ahead of the legal framework that regulates these economic activities, said Mr. Dmitriy Tulin, head of the Securities Directorate of the State Bank of the USSR, in an interview to IF's [INTERFAX's] economic analyst Valeriy Martiyanov.

In the view of Mr. Tulin, this is primarily the case as regards the issuance of securities. At the present time, there exist only the decrees of the governments of the Soviet Union and Russia issued about a year ago, which after a long break legalised again such elements of a market economy as stock companies and limited liability companies. These decrees, however, have a number of serious deficiencies.

The decrees require the registration of stock companies with the executive committees of councils of people's deputies at the various levels or, if company activities are subject to licensing, with the proper state agencies (as, for example, the USSR State Bank or republican central banks in the case of joint stock banks), but they also require a separate registration of securities carried out according to instructions from the USSR Finance Ministry.

Mr. Tulin believes that although the Ministry of Finance is given almost full discretion as to the setting of rules for the registration of securities, some useful requirements are already set out in, for example, the decree of the Union government. The issuer of securities is expected to provide the fullest information possible about them—at the very least, the total value of securities being issued and the length of time subscription will take (subscription should not last longer than six months). The decree further stipulates that a subscription is considered to have in effect taken place if the expiry of six months at least 60% of the value of a securities issue has been acquired by subscribers.

A major drawback is, in the opinion of Mr. Tulin, that to all intents and purposes there is no one to control the conduct of subscription to securities throughout the period of time it takes until they are registered with the USSR Finance Ministry, so there is no one to monitor the observance of the above requirements. The structure

of the Cabinet of Ministers of the USSR is supposed to include the State Securities Inspectorate, but it does not as yet have a single employee.

It stands to reason that this situation is encouraging widespread violations and fraud. Therefore experts in the field redoubled their efforts to draw up a law on securities and stock exchanges. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR had already passed it in the first reading and there were indications that by around mid-September it could be enacted, when, as a result of the attempted coup d'etat on August 19-21, the question was postponed indefinitely.

As for the Law on Securities and Stock Exchanges of the Russian Federation, its preparation is as yet only into the beginning stages. Neither has the draft of a similar law in Latvia been debated by its parliament. The only republic where such a law is in force is Kazakhstan, although experts believe it to be "too short and sketchy."

One more problem that strikes Mr. Tulin as important is the absence of securities market regulations spelling out rules to be observed by finance and investment companies, and broker firms operating at stock exchanges, although everywhere in the civilised world these activities require having a licence certifying at the very least that its holder has the right professional qualifications and is competent.

On top of this, the Soviet Union's information infrastructure is embryonic, and information about securities and their circulation is not readily available to everyone, nonexistence of an infrastructure that would make trading in securities possible (though a number of stock exchanges are reported to have been set up, none of them has as yet begun normal business), and on the other hand, many of the companies quite simply are reluctant to burden themselves with additional responsibilities stemming from making their securities available for purchase by the public, which would entail regular publication of financial statements, ensuring the reliability of the information they disclosed and the quality of auditors' reports. This is understandable, but in a market economy it is after all more natural when shares are freely traded at stock markets.

As for the prospects of Soviet enterprises and organisations selling their securities in international markets, or foreign juridical and physical persons purchasing the securities of Soviet enterprises and organisations within the USSR, Dmitriy Tulin sees them as "extremely uncertain at present."

Political instability, economic crisis, and an inadequate legal system are hardly the environment needed to attract an inflow of foreign investments, Mr. Tulin believes. In his opinion, even though the Soviet Union and many republics have passed laws on foreign investments that provide guarantees to foreign investors with respect to protection and repatriation of their profits, including hard currency, in real terms there are neither the mechanism, nor the money to honour these obligations.

Aggregate date on joint stock companies and limited liability companies as of August 1, 1991 (Source: Consolidated State Register of the USSR)

Number of Companies

	All Companies	Stock Companies	Limited Liability Companies
RSFSR	847	268	606
Including Moscow	282	106	176
Leningrad	21	7	14
Ukraine	111	24	87
Belorussia	64	2	62
Uzbekistan	11	5	6
Kazakhstan	31	11	20
Georgia	1	1	0
Azerbaijan	2	2	0
Lithuania	2	2	0
Moldova	10	4	6
Latvia	25	22	3
Kyrgyzstan	3	2	1
Tajikistan	1	1	0
Armenia	3	2	1
Turkmenia	2	1	1
Estonia	-	-	-
TOTAL	1140	347	793

Aggregate Authorised Capital (millions of rubles)

	All Companies	Stock Companies	Limited Liability Companies
RSFSR	21886.0	21523.0	363.0
Including Moscow	15602.2	15386.6	219.6
Leningrad	88.4	87.4	1.0
Ukraine	157.6	148.0	9.6
Belorussia	7.5	3.2	4.3
Uzbekistan	62.7	11.2	51.5
Kazakhstan	232.3	222.6	9.7
Georgia	1.7	1.7	0
Azerbaijan	6.0	6.0	0
Lithuania	11.2	11.2	0
Moldova	28.5	27.3	1.2
Latvia	749.4	744.7	4.7
Kyrgyzstan	29.3	29.2	1.0
Tajikistan	12.2	12.2	0
Armenia	10.3	10.2	1.0
Turkmenia	9.1	9.0	1.0
Estonia	-	-	-
TOTAL	23203.8	22795.9	444.3

Economic Figures Show Continued Decline in Aug

OW1109091391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR State Statistics Committee (Goskomstat) has published a report on national industry's performance in August, which testifies to the absence of tangible positive trends in the country's economic development. According to Goskomstat, industrial output continued decreasing against the same period last year, which can be seen from the table below (in percent, comparable prices):

	Average daily output	Total Output
January-July	5.4	6.2
August	6.0	8.0
January-August	5.5	6.4

Industrial output (in current prices) of the first 8 months of this year totaled 198 percent of that of the same period last year, with the wholesale price index amounting to 212 percent.

Extraction of oil, including gas condensate, decreased between January and August by 10 percent, and of coal by 11 percent, including a 20-percent slump in the extraction of coke.

Metallurgical plants put out by 12 percent less rolled metal, and by 9 percent fewer steel tubes during the first 8 months of 1991 than in the same period last year. There was a slump in the output of major non-ferrous metals.

Oil supplies shrinkage led to a 2-percent reduction in the primary refining of oil and, consequently, to a 5-percent decrease in the output of bensine, and a 4-percent drop in the production of diesel fuel.

The manufacture of consumer goods reduced during the 8 months of this year by a total 3.6 percent against the same period last year, with the production of food slumping by 8.2 percent and of light industry goods by 8.0 percent.

The Goskomstat report will be featured in greater detail in IF's [INTERFAX] SOVIET BUSINESS REPORT No 71 dated 11 September, 1991.

Komi To Resume Gold Mining, Retain Income

PM0909132591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Report by Y. Kuznetsov and O. Sergeyev, identified by caption; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Kuznetsov] Kazim and the surrounding area in the Northern Urals have started producing gold for the country again. Gold production had ended five years ago. That was when the former Central Committee of the former Communist Party decided to disband the "Pechora" cartel. Specialists claim that this act by the supporters of socialism resulted in a loss of no less than 200 tonnes to our gold reserves. Exercising its sovereignty, the Komi Republic—on whose territory the field is located—has stated its intention to retain not less than 30 percent of the gold produced for its own coffers. And it has already obtained the consent of the Russian authorities. Moreover, the Komi Soviet Socialist Republic is planning to open its own hard currency bank. The only unknown factor is the extent to which these measures will alter the lives and jobs of the residents of sovereign Komi—and of the local gold prospectors.

Gas Production Up by 6 Million Cubic Meters

PM1109095191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[TASS report under the "Around the Country" rubric: "We Are Getting the Gas"]

[Text] Moscow—"There is still time to meet the winter fully equipped," this is the view expressed by V. Chernomyrdin, chairman of the board of Gazprom, the state gas firm, in conversation with a TASS correspondent.

Over 500 billion cubic meters of fuel have been produced since the beginning of the year—6 billion more than in the corresponding period last year. And the preparation for the coming fall and winter period is not an emergency for the concern, its chairman said.

Agricultural

Harvest Progress as of Early September

914A1161A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 6 Sep 91 p 1

[Article by M. Silvanovich: "Speeding Along With Our Feet on the Brakes: According to Data of the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and Food"]

[Text] It is presently the peak of the grain harvest in Western Siberia and Northern Kazakhstan. And they have had a week there without significant precipitation, as the weather forecasters say. The farmers have put this "window" to good use. Over the seven days from 27 August to 2 September a substantial dent was made in the grain fields of Altay—almost 1 million hectares. An excellent pace, one may say, with an average harvest that is quite tolerable for this year—11.2 quintals per hectare. If they could work like that all the time we could handle the harvest in a month.

In general, the grain is uneven this year for the residents of Siberia. The people of Omsk are harvesting only 8.4 quintals per hectare while the average grain output at the beginning of the harvest was 15.7 quintals per hectare in Tyumen.

A fair harvest was cultivated on the fields of Novosibirsk Oblast. But only 30 percent of the grain was harvested. The traditional shortage of vehicles, which were not delivered by the enterprises of the oblast center, has turned out to be a serious obstacle in this case. There is not enough fuel and the combines often stand idle even in good weather.

On the whole, throughout the country 71.7 million hectares of grain and leguminous crops (excluding corn) have been threshed. This is 70 percent of the crops. Over the week 8.7 million hectares were gathered, which makes up 8.5 percent of the total area of grain and leguminous crops. To put it colorfully, a giant step forward has been taken. On the European territory of the Union it has begun to rain harder. In the meantime more than half of the crops were not harvested in Yaroslavl, Tver, and Leningrad Oblasts. There is an "uncut belt" in Smolensk, Kostroma, Ivanov, and Saratov Oblasts.

In all 129.3 million tons of grain have been threshed from the harvested fields. The average yield is 18.2 quintals per hectare. Some 29.1 million tons of grain, or 23 percent of the grain that has been threshed, have reached the state elevators. The state order is only 38 percent fulfilled. Last year on this date the kolkhozes and sovkhozes had sold the state 46.3 million tons.

Over the last three weeks the pace of the threshing, although slow, was increasing: 6.5 million, then 7.6, then 8.7. The graph of average yields declined over these three weeks from 20.5 to 18.2 quintals per hectare—testimony to the fact that the harvest season has progressed into the less bountiful eastern regions. However data on state purchases of grain from week to week look like a set of stairs going only downward: 2.7; 2.3; and 1.8 million tons. At present measures for material incentives stipulated for kolkhozes and sovkhozes are not functioning either. In addition, reports are received occasionally from the local level concerning interruptions in deliveries of consumer goods and equipment for countersale in regions where harvesting is underway.

The panorama of autumn field and storage efforts is becoming broader. The harvest of potatoes and vegetables is underway. In Leningrad Oblast, for instance, retirees and school students are being enlisted widely for that work. It has been decided to hand over a portion of the harvest free of charge to those who have come to help the countryside. This, most probably, is the very best means of interesting city residents in taking an immediate part in saving our "second bread" from the approaching bad weather.

Manual harvesting of cotton has begun in the southern rayons of the Republics of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Azerbaijan. The plantations are being prepared for mechanized harvesting of the "white gold."

In the south of Kazakhstan they have begun the harvesting of rice. The picking of fiber flax is ending in the Ukraine and Belorussia and, in all, 74 percent of the flax was harvested from the sown areas. The laying-in of fodders continues, and 9.6 quintals of fodder units have been stored for each conventional head of cattle. That is a very small amount. What can you feed with such a stock of forage? Perhaps a goat...

The peak time for the harvest of sugar beets is approaching. The farms of Krasnodar Kray and Kursk, Vinnitsa, Kiev, Poltava, Cherkassy, Zhitomir, Kirovograd, and Kharkov Oblasts as well as the Mordovian Republic have already begun that work. There has been a flurry of alarming reports concerning the low state of readiness to receive the harvest at a whole series of processing factories. The factory workers of Belgorod Oblast have fallen behind with preparations. But on the whole the sugar refiners have not been inactive. For the most part they have been let down by those who deliver the equipment and materials. For example, the workers of the Dmitrotaranovskiy factory have again, as last year, been slow in starting up technological lines because of the builders and fitters of Belgorodstroy [Belgorod construction] and Tsentrmetallurgmontazh [center metallurgical assembly].

Filters have turned out to be the scarcest elements needed on the lines. And there is one more problem—there is not enough coke for roasting the limestone used in the technological process of refining the sugar. The "selfish" interests of individual so-called partners were in evidence in this instance. For example TASS correspondent L. Konorev reports that leaders of the Kemerovo by-product coke plant requested from the residents of Belgorod one ton of sugar for each 15 tons of coke. But how are they to come up with such a volume for barter purposes when almost everything they produce is supposed to go toward fulfilling the state order?

...It is a difficult and alarming autumn. Will we ever begin to see the light at the end of the tunnel?

Russian Agriculture Minister on Harvest Situation

LD1009213891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Video interview with G.V. Kulik, member of the Committee for the Provisional Management of the USSR Economy, and RSFSR minister of food and agriculture, by correspondent Komarova on 9 September at USSR Television editorial office; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] As we know, the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy is adopting a measure to issue a decision in which the word food tax [prodnalog] is surfacing from the 1920s, and the concept of personal responsibility [personalnaya otvestvennost] is, as it were, being brought back from the 1930s. We would like to clarify what emphasis is being put into them today.

We received an explanation this morning at the editorial offices.

[Kulik] Please forgive me for being a few minutes' late.

[Komarova] Not at all.

[Kulik] We don't want to send any leather jackets there [as heard]. No, we want to work in a civilized way. The farmers have concluded a treaty. They undertook a commitment to sell grain to the state; they are not fulfilling it and they must bear responsibility for that.

[Komarova] What kind of responsibility?

[Kulik] I will tell you. The five-fold cost of the output which you farmers failed to supply. You personally, if, as a leader, you did not do everything to ensure that this order, this treaty, this contract with the state was fulfilled, you must also bear responsibility in the form of a cash deficiency. What's more, a pretty large sum at that. According to the laws of Russia, this could be a sum of up to 10,000 rubles, and personal responsibility for the fact that you failed to do everything that was required of you.

[Komarova] And food tax, as it transpired, is the minimum volume of grain which is due to be harvested, not according to contractual prices, but according to state prices.

[Kulik] (?On the way here) we have just been meeting with Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, and the Russian Government has adopted more additional measures in order to interest farms in actively selling grain. For example, an unusual measure. Previously, you receive interest on your cash which is kept in the savings bank, right?

[Komarova] Yes.

[Kulik] [to unidentified man] And you, too?

[Man] I expect so

[Kulik] Right. We have now adopted this decision: If you submitted grain to us for storage for six months, we shall guarantee to return it, plus 10 percent, because you have not sold it. If you have sold it before the six months, for each month of storage I shall pay 10 percent of the cost of the storage of this grain.

[Komarova] Gennadiy Vasiliyevich, briefly, what sort of mood are you in today?

[Kulik] A very serious mood. [video shows Kulik entering room and being greeted by correspondent with another man in attendance]

State Order 'Ignored' by Ukrainian Grain Growers

PM1009143191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Correspondent I. Tikhomirov report: "Again With the Begging Bowl"]

[Text] So far the grain collection centers and elevators of the Ukraine have received only about 9.5 million tonnes of grain—less than two-thirds of the minimum needed to guarantee the supply of bread, macaroni, noodles, and groats until the next harvest. Back in mid-August the Supreme Soviet Presidium demanded that the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers and soviets at all levels "implement all the necessary measures to ensure the achievement without fail of the levels established for grain purchases." More than 25 million tonnes of wheat remain at farm threshing floors, and the state order is being blatantly ignored. This makes it essential to hold talks with the representatives of a number of neighboring states, in particular with Hungary and Yugoslavia, about purchasing 5 million tonnes of grain.

Army Drivers Shortchanged After Helping Farms

PM1109101791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Aug 91 Second Edition p 1

[Major Yu. Afanaskin report under the general heading "Harvest-91. Grateful to the Farmers in Shoulder-Boards": "Siberians"]

[Text] The mass harvesting of grain crops on most farms in the Siberian region is still only just beginning, yet a proportion of the "grainfield" motor transport battalions' vehicles is already in need of some repair. The point is that the motor transport battalions on the Siberian Military District's territory were formed in mid-June, that is actually only a month before the mass harvest started.

What have they not carried during this period. From road surfacing to firewood, and much else besides. Naturally, in transporting such loads the bodies of vehicles mainly specially adapted for transporting grain crops have suffered greatly.

Now operations group chief Colonel V. Rodionov and his deputies Cols. M. Kulikov and V. Tselkov are constantly on the move studying the state of affairs locally and giving the necessary assistance. However, the operations group's leadership is powerless to change anything in certain matters. For example, ensuring that the farms settle up in good time and fairly with the drivers. Take the soldiers of a harvest subunit on the "Pikhtovskiy" sovkhoz in Novosibirsk Oblast, who by now have shipped a lot of agricultural freight. Instead of the 50,000 rubles they have earned, only 17,000 have in fact been credited to the military unit's account.

Nevertheless, most of the drivers understand the importance of the task they have been entrusted with. The results indicate this. The drivers of the company under Major Yu. Lebedinets' command have already transported more than 20,000 tonnes of agricultural freight. Those under Maj. A. Dubonosov (over 12,000 tonnes) and Lieutenant Colonel A. Akinin (over 11,000 tonnes) are working well.

However, I would repeat that the mass harvest is still only just beginning. So it is too soon to be assessing its results.

Scientific

Chelyabinsk-70 Arms Center Opens to Journalists

LD1109014791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2300 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Text] The Chelyabinsk-70 nuclear center has been opened up to journalists. Correspondent Vladlen Kazanets has the details:

[Kazanets] Chelyabinsk-70 is a town that does not appear on any map of the world. In fact this urban center with 100,000 inhabitants is really not far from Yekaterinburg—some 40 km away. For 30 years this center, where the majority of Soviet nuclear warheads were designed, was kept secret both from us and from the CIA. Thanks to Mikhaylov, USSR deputy minister for nuclear power and industry, the strict veil of secrecy has now been lifted. Journalists from TASS were allowed to visit the All-Union Research Institute for Technical Physics at Chelyabinsk-70, where they saw with their own eyes the Soviet atomic bomb, the most hallowed of defense secrets. No doubt the Livermore Laboratory at Los Alamos could add greatly to the information gathered by the TASS journalists. After all, what secrets can there be when satellites can easily read car license plates from space? Local journalists are now impatiently waiting their turn to make it to Chelyabinsk-70. It would be interesting, would it not, to learn about a town with almost 100,000 inhabitants, whose existence we were completely ignorant of for so long. This is Vladlen Kazanets with a special report for Russia's Radio.

Future of Soviet Space Program Discussed

PM1009130791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast: Report by A. Gerasimov, V. Molchanov, B. Antsifirov, identified by caption]

[Text] [Announcer] The answer to the question Whose cosmonauts will be the first to walk on Mars? is: Most definitely not ours.

The funding of the Soviet space program is being cut back, and the situation is not likely to change for the better in the next few years. Incidentally, our meager resources can be put to better use. Rather than cutting projects which produce real returns, it is necessary to axe programs spawned by gigantomania.

[Cosmonaut Artsibashev speaking from Mir station] Radio hams are asking: Is it true that the Russians intend to sell off the Mir station? Since it is our home at the moment, we ask in turn: Does that include us?

[Gerasimov] This strange conversation stems from the uncertainty currently affecting our military-industrial complex.

It has been said that borders are not visible from space. This was true in the past. Today the borders of union republics are clearly discernible from the altitude of the orbital station. Kazakhstan, having announced that all union enterprises on its territory are being switched to republic jurisdiction, is about to launch its own—Kazakh—cosmonaut into orbit 2 October. Who owns Baykonur today? And whose property is the space station?

[Yu. P. Semenov, chief designer of "Energiya" Science and Production Association, identified by caption] It is necessary to determine who owns what. The situation as regards this is very vague. It is difficult today to say who owns the space station.

[Gerasimov] The space program, a union program in the past, could quite easily break up into several republic programs. In this situation, according to our information, the leadership of the military-industrial complex has seriously considered various options concerning the future fate of the Mir station, from selling it off to other space powers to scuttling it in the Pacific. The great theater of the absurd is breaking up into small studios. Its immediate participants [video shows space officials in conference] are discussing the space flight program for the coming year.

The Soviet space program, just like the armed forces—whose unity is being urged by Gorbachev today—were created by the whole union. When everything is up for grabs, those who are slow off the mark stand to lose.

[Announcer] All this is true, but our space program is far too precious to be carved up.

Mir Cosmonauts Conduct Experiments

LD0609162791 Moscow TASS in English 1355 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Mission Control Centre September 6 TASS— For the past two days, two Soviet cosmonauts on board the orbiting platform Mir, Anatoliy Arcebarskiy and Sergey Krikalev, have concentrated on astro-physical research.

Using facilities on the Mir outdoor surface, they conducted a number of experiments to measure space rays in a wide range of wave lengths and to discover new sources of x-rays within and beyond the limits of our galaxy.

The Gallar plant on the station is about to complete crystallization of a sample of a semi-conductor material, zinc oxide.

According to the results of a medical examination, both cosmonauts are in good health.

Plans for Nuclear Power Stations Discussed

LD1009054591 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0000 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] By the year 2000 the Soviet Union plans to commission two medium-sized underground nuclear power stations. We discussed the program to build such

stations with Dr. Nikolay Melnikov, the director of the mining institute of the Kola science center and a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Here is our science correspondent, Boris Belitskiy, with an account of the interview:

[Begin recording] [Belitskiy] Dr. Melnikov explained the role of his institute in his project.

[Melnikov, in Russian with superimposed English translation] The institute is the country's leader in underground construction so when the tragedy at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant occurred in 1986, the government instructed the institute to study the problem of underground stations, how safe they would be, how they could be dismantled and to carry out a general feasibility study of such projects. [passage omitted]

The idea is to construct several medium-sized underground tations to acquire expertise in this new field. [passage omitted]

[Belitskiy] It is important to note that underground stations aren't seen as the only option for the nuclear power industry. Melnikov considers it a rational alternative, which could enable the industry to use existing equipment without danger to human health or the environment. Underground stations could thus be a stopgap until a generation of safer reactors is developed. Melnikov also explained here it is planned to build these stations.

[Melnikov] An 800 megawatt station is to be built in Murmansk region, in the European north of the country. There may be a 500 megawatt station in central Siberia. There are also suggestions to build such stations near Leningrad and Vladivostok.

[Belitskiy] A group led by Melnikov returned recently from Alma -Ata, the capital of the republic of Kazakhstan. That republic offered five sites for underground stations: Semipalatinsk, Ust Kamenogorsk, Chimkent, Balkhash and Alma-Ata. They need nuclear power badly because the thermal stations burning heavy oil are polluting their environment. [passage omitted]

[Melnikov] It appears that large-scale excavation work for such projects has already been done. There are underground workings up to 90 meters high [as heard] and 30-40 meters wide. [passage omitted]

Military

Shaposhnikov, Republics Review Military Doctrine

LD1009123491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Excerpt] A collegium of the USSR Ministry of Defense will take place on 19 September. Military Doctrine and the Fate of the Armed Forces of the Former Union is the proposed theme of that sitting.

Today, Defense Minister Shaposhnikov will consult with representatives of the republics on these problems. [passage omitted]

Collective Security Plan Envisaged

LD1009131791 Moscow TASS in English 1249 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—Plenipotentiary representatives of sovereign republics have begun discussing approaches to radical reforms in the armed forces in the light of current political realities, Valeriy Ochirov, deputy chairman of the Soviet parliament committee on defence and security, told TASS today.

He was interviewed before the meeting, held at the Defence Ministry headquarters on the Arbat at the initiative of Soviet Defence Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, which began today.

Participants will discuss a whole range of issues, including collective security of the future union of sovereign states, Ochirov said.

"This package will serve as a basis for a corresponding part of the new treaty of sovereign republics," he said.

Problems on Control Over Nuclear Arms Examined

PM0909164991 Moscow IAN Press Release in English (undated)

[Article by Vitaliy Pogrebenkov, IAN military writer: "Who Will Have His Finger on the Button?"]

[Text] The two interrelated problems—the signing of the Union treaty and the abortive coup attempt in the Soviet Union—have once again raised the vitally important issue of Soviet nuclear weapons. First, what will become of the almost 30,000 nuclear warheads once some or other version of the Union treaty is signed? Secondly, in the event of another coup attempt, wouldn't nuclear weapons fall into the hands of criminals capable of plunging the world into the nightmare of nuclear war?

Before the coup attempt, we could speak, with a greater or lesser degree of certainty, of a federal character of the future union. But no longer. The coup intensified centrifugal trends, tipping the balance of opinion in favour of a confederation. This trend seems predominant to me, and if it comes to fruition, any future union of independent states will have to decide exactly what kind of relationships—political, economic, and military—should exist between its members.

As far as the military aspect is concerned, I think an alliance patterned on the Warsaw Pact could be formed. Russia might be cast into the kind of role which the Soviet Union once played in the Warsaw Pact, while the armies of the constituent republics would act as allied forces. The status and functions of such armies would

mean that the full burden of responsibility for strategic defence would lie with Russia, including the deployment of nuclear forces and relevant support services.

Today the country's nuclear forces are based in three republics—Russia, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan. The Ukraine has declared itself a nuclear-free zone, meaning that it can demand that nuclear arms be removed from its territory. Kazakhstan provides nuclear testing grounds at Semipalatinsk, where, as the new defence minister, Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov has said, the two or three underground nuclear tests planned for this year will not take place. Furthermore, as I was told at the USSR Defence Ministry, today no one of the union republics claims the right to possess nuclear weapons—neither strategic nor tactical. This leaves Russia, potentially the only republic with nuclear capability. So, even if the union breaks up into sovereign nation-states, it's unlikely that the number of nuclear powers in the world will increase.

This monopoly on nuclear arms puts paid [as received] to the fear of divided control over the nuclear push button. At the same time, it saddles Russia with many problems, as it will have to move these weapons to its territory and to provide protection and maintenance, let alone arms manufacture and manpower training. It is not ruled out that some republics, primarily those which will have nuclear weapons withdrawal from their territory, might be expected to share the financial burden of the whole exercise. Then again, other republics might also finance Russia's strategic nuclear forces, regarding their contribution as rent for the nuclear umbrella, which, unfortunately, will be necessary for a long time yet.

This brings us to the question of the presidential "nuclear briefcase" and the malefactors. Of course, the way this thing works is a national secret, so we have to generalise and speak figuratively.

Let us assume that this briefcase falls into the hands of criminals. They open it, push the fatal button and—nothing happens. A malfunction? No.

The fact is that strategic nuclear forces constitute a complex system which is not simple to use. Take the time factor, for one. Before a nuclear missile can be actually and effectively launched, it has to go through various stages of combat readiness. Normally, this process depends on incoming intelligence data and requires some time for operational checks.

But even if the nuclear forces were on red status, criminals with the briefcase would still be unable to bring them into action, as this requires several keys. To get an idea of how they work, let us imagine a safe-deposit box which can be opened, say, with three different keys in a certain order and by different people. The final, and most important, key is made as purely personal to prevent counterfeiting. For example, as is the case in other countries, it can react to a voice of a certain timbre or to the retina of the eye of the holder.

Finally, let us imagine a scenario where a nuclear missile blasted off without sanction. Such an unauthorised launch is practically ruled out, but should anything like this happen, then a multiply duplicated self-destruct system would do its job.

As for the technical aspect, a fine-tuned and dependable nuclear safety mechanism is in place. Problems appear to lie in other areas, notably: legal (the right to disobey criminal orders), ethical (moral responsibility for the use of the most deadly weapon), and military (how such weapons should be used, particularly in the light of a doctrine of defence).

Even if Russia's dependable hand were to be in sole control of the nuclear arsenal, nuclear safety must be assured by other means—by scrapping all nuclear arms in the world.

Lobov Advocates Civilian Headed Defense Ministry

PM1009103791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 91 p 2

[Interview with Army General V.N. Lobov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, by A. Krayniy; place and date not given; first paragraph is biography of Lobov: "The Army Is Too Serious a Thing To Be Entrusted to the Military Alone"]

[Text]

From KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's File

"Army General Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov. Born into a large peasant family in Bashkiria in 1935. Graduated from secondary school and, simultaneously, from Ryazan Artillery School. Began service in the Strategic Missile Forces. Graduated from the Frunze and General Staff Academies. Commanded the Central Asian Military District, was first deputy chief of the General Staff and chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact Forces. Headed the Frunze Academy for two months. Appointed, unexpectedly for him, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff. Candidate of historical sciences, doctor of military sciences, professor."

[Krayniy] Vladimir Nikolayevich, in what state did you take on the General Staff?

[Lobov] All or almost all here is familiar to me, for I have worked on the General Staff before. I will say this: Some 95 percent of the collective of officers and generals accords with the level of the tasks which face us squarely today.

[Krayniy] And the other 5 percent?

[Lobov] These are specific people mixed up in the putsch to some extent. I am not an investigator, and it is not my job to determine the degree of these people's guilt. But, as you know, the former chief of the General Staff, Major

Gen. Zalomin, his assistant; and Colonel Gen. Denisov, chief of the operations directorate, no longer work with us.

[Krayniy] Vladimir Nikolayevich, you have spoken of tasks. What are they?

[Lobov] The chief task is military reform. It sounds absurd, but we live according to designs from the middle of the last century, when the district system for the disposition of troops was laid down. I am profoundly convinced that it is obsolete, for military districts must coincide with the territory of republics, i.e., to put it crudely, one district in each republic.

[Krayniy] Probably not only this is obsolete?

[Lobov] Of course. In my view, the Ministry of Defense must become a civilian organization headed by a civilian. As part of the Cabinet of Ministers or some other structure, it will see to the manning of the Army, by draft or contract, ensure the social protection of veterans, etc. And the General Staff, subordinate to the supreme commander in chief, directly controls the Army and prepares it to defend its homeland.

[Krayniy] How does the minister of defense perceive your views?

[Lobov] Are you hinting at a possible conflict? I have worked in close contact with Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov, and when I speak of the preferential role of the General Staff in ensuring the troops' combat readiness, I do not mean myself personally but work. The crux of the matter is work, not personalities.

[Krayniy] What specifically is it proposed to change?

[Lobov] We want the republics to have far more rights than before. In our view, each of them must have its own ministry of defense, which, incidentally, drafts young people itself. Some of them, maybe most of them, serve in their own motherland, and others in all-union units according to quotas. I am speaking of the Strategic Missile Forces, the Navy, the Strategic Air Force, and air defense.

Incidentally, two lines in the Army's leadership—the political line running through the country's Ministry of Defense to the republics' ministries of defense, and the purely military line running through the General Staff—will reliably rule out the possibility of the Army's being used to resolve internal problems. When I was commander of the Central Asian District, I protested against using the Army. Troops did not participate in the well-known events in Alma-Ata, but it is now a question of creating a system under which this would not depend on specific people but would be ruled out in principle.

[Krayniy] Vladimir Nikolayevich, the two verticals of management are clear. Let us go a little lower, to the unit, subunit, soldier. Will our Army become a professional one?

[Lobov] In a word of one syllable: Yes. True, the transition will take some time, but we will begin right now. The military reform concept which the USSR minister of defense submitted to deputies at the extraordinary Congress includes this proposal: For the first six months a young man serves in a training subunit in his own motherland and then either concludes a contract for some definite period or simply serves for 12 months.

[Krayniy] If I have not made a mistake in my arithmetic, the service period is being reduced to 18 months?

[Lobov] Yes, this is our proposal. I am profoundly convinced that, by revising the training units' programs and by organizing the system of combat training in line units the way it should be done, we will manage even in 18 months to turn a young man into a reliable defender of the motherland. Having said all that, to be frank, it is no secret that soldiers frequently simply serve out their last 18 months counting the days until their transfer to the reserve.

[Krayniy] What is your attitude to alternative service?

[Lobov] You know, this is a matter for the republics: whom to draft into combat units and whom to send to construction projects, hospitals, etc. One thing is clear: A draftee who chooses alternative service must have weighty reasons, and this service itself must not look like a vacation compared with the usual service. Maybe it should be longer—24 months, let us say.

[Krayniy] Vladimir Nikolayevich, you and I are sitting here talking about what the Army must become, and yet the country's future remains rather vague. The extraordinary Congress adopted documents for the transitional period, and the Union treaty which has already been prepared is being revised. Today leaders say one thing, tomorrow they might say something else...

[Lobov] The Soviet Union's future is, as military people say, above my level of competence. It is a matter for politicians, and the peoples will decide. I will say one thing: It is my profound conviction, which I have already voiced in the press, that, regardless of whether we have a union of sovereign republics, a federation, or a confederation, the Army and, all the more so, the strategic nuclear forces must be a unified mechanism. I believe, more than that, I am convinced that a considered, wise decision will be made on the country's structure.

[Krayniy] Let us return to the soldiers. Will they all become professionals?

[Lobov] Almost all. There are specialties in the Army which there is no point in manning with professionals. The Navy, Air Force, and Strategic Missile Forces may be the first to go over to a contract system.

[Krayniy] Just so, about the Navy. We in the editorial office receive letters in which young people ask for assistance in concluding a contract with the Navy, let us say. But the Navy Main Staff replies that such contracts are concluded only with young people who have already

been drafted and that there are very few such people. This is the first point. Second, an experiment was announced in the Transcaucasus District: Soldier volunteers who expressed a wish to serve in hot spots were promised many benefits—from 20-day leave to a wage of 240 rubles. But all this, or almost all, remained on paper.

[Lobov] You know, I will say this. An unscrupulous or unprepared experimenter can cast doubt on a very idea. The example you have cited does not indicate that contracts are not needed in the Army, simply that this must be done differently. I am afraid that the people both on the General Staff and in the Ministry of Defense who adopted this decision regarded the general need for professionalization in the Army as some campaign and a short-lived fashion. But the new leadership has arrived at these ideas through suffering. For us, and the members of the Defense Ministry Collegium are united on this, the military reform, as well as the reform of the Armed Forces proper, is not something that will help us to earn "brownie points" and achieve popularity among the people and the Army. It is a long urgent necessity.

[Krayniy] Vladimir Nikolayevich, the final question. Okay, soldiers will serve under contract. And yet we already have professionals in the Army today—officers.

[Lobov] The wage leveling factor that reigns in the labor remuneration of officers must be eliminated as quickly as possible. In the future pay must be issued with various coefficients which will either raise or lower the size of the final payment. But money is still not everything. An officer must have social protection, a number of laws are needed, and, most importantly, we must resolve without delay a mass of problems with regard to raising the standard and quality of life for officers.

The officer is the backbone of the Army, and he must live under civilized conditions. Not the easiest profession in the world has fallen to his lot, and so we are obliged to give him not only a good wage but also a good apartment and to find his child a kindergarten place and his wife a job. In recent years officers have only been given promises, and the time has come to pay the bills.

...I would like to say a few words to conclude our conversation. Three days in August were a lesson to us all. But I have once again seen for myself that our soldiers and officers are splendid people. They did everything to keep the country on the fragile side of peace and stop it from sliding into the abyss of civil war. They have deserved that society should change its attitude to the "man with a rifle" and help him.

Lobov Assesses Military Reforms, Ramifications

PM1009150391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Sep 91 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Interview with Army General V.N. Lobov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel O. Vladykin; place and date not given: "Military Reform: No Draft Must Be Rejected"]

[Text] [Vladykin] Comrade Army General, you went to Kiev immediately after the Ukraine proclaimed its independence and announced that it was placing under its own command all the troop formations stationed on its territory. What was the aim of your trip?

[Lobov] When I learned that the Ukraine was intending to create its own armed forces on the basis of three military districts and the Black Sea Fleet and the chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet was urgently convening a conference of military leaders on this question, I called [Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman] Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk. We agreed that representatives of the USSR Defense Ministry would also take part in the conference since each side had an interest in a mutually acceptable solution of such a complex problem.

The meeting was held in an exceptionally businesslike atmosphere. Representatives of various political currents, including Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka], calmly and without arrogance expressed their concern at the republic's vulnerability in extreme situations like the well known events of 19-21 August. They made no secret of their fears that the Soviet Army, outside the control of the republic's government, could represent a threat to the republic. And they pointed to the need to create Ukraine forces that could reliably defend its independence, state system, and constitutional organs of power.

We, the military, in principle recognized this need but tried to explain that it was certainly not necessary to tear away part of the USSR Armed Forces in order to resolve this task. And it is fundamentally impossible to split the Strategic Rocket Forces, for instance, for a whole series of political, technical, military, and juridical reasons.

By mutual agreement the final result of our meeting was this. We planned to produce in September at the General Staff, with the participation of the commanders of military districts on the Ukraine's territory, several scenarios for resolving the question of the republic's participation in military organizational development. And over this period Kiev wants to elaborate its own military doctrine. Okay, we have no objection. We are prepared to offer an expert assessment of it. And when we meet again at the prescribed date, I think we will reach a compromise solution.

[Vladykin] Since you envisage the possibility of participation by the republics in military organizational development and have already repeatedly advocated this in the press, could you talk in more detail about the possible principles for this collaboration between sovereign states and the central organs for the control of the Armed Forces?

[Lobov] Since the process of the sovereignization of the USSR's constituent republics has moved so swiftly

lately, we have no right to fail to take it into account. And we must coordinate our activity with the political realities. And in some fundamental respects we must even anticipate the course of events, forecast them, and make appropriate decisions.

The main task is certainly to preserve united armed forces to defend the economic space that will emerge as a result of the new interconnections between the former union republics that have proclaimed their independence. But this must be done without infringing the interests of the sovereign states, of course. So one possible option for organizing the defense of the common economic space may be to change the "layout" of military districts so that their territory coincides with the border of each republic, and then the republic's power structures would participate via their own military department in resolving defense questions together with the command of the district's troops.

But in general that need not be the only option. All the options must be considered and carefully studied. Then, at the negotiating table, we must choose the model of united armed forces most acceptable to all the republics. Let the politicians determine this, and the military will give them well reasoned forecasts of the likely consequences of implementing a particular option.

[Vladykin] Vladimir Nikolayevich, won't the upshot be that, as a result of political decisions, you will once again find yourself becoming chief of staff of Joint Armed Forces, as in the past?

[Lobov] I do not rule out that possibility either, although I regard it as extremely undesirable in the prevailing situation. This would be in effect the very splitting of the Armed Forces into national armies that we are warning against today. Besides the impermissibility of dividing up the Strategic Rocket Forces, the unified air defense system, and the Navy's strategic forces, it would place a mass of other problems on the agenda as well.

For instance, one-third of the Soviet Army's officers are Ukrainians. Will they all want to serve in the Ukraine? That is scarcely likely. But many certainly will want to. Their transfer will involve great difficulties. Will the republic be able to give them vacant posts in the forces—after all, it will be necessary to remove others from these posts—allocate housing, and find jobs for their wives?

And is a single republic capable of supplying forces with fuel, spare parts for equipment, ammunition, and various items of military equipment that are not produced on its own territory? Where is it going to get the money to purchase all this?

Far more serious contradictions may also arise. For instance, the Ukraine may first set the size of its army at 300,000 men and Belorussia at only 200,000. But the presence of a militarily stronger neighbor will provoke one of the republics to build up its own army. And God forbid that this take place against the background of any mutual complaints between sovereign states. Do you see what a dangerous turn of events would result?

[Vladykin] Yes, open military confrontation between republics and the outbreak of a domestic arms race in conditions of the economic crisis would be the last straw for us... How can we avoid such cataclysms?

[Lobov] First of all we can determine more swiftly what kind of a union is to appear on the USSR's territory. What will it be like? A federation, a confederation, an economic community of absolutely autonomous subjects of international law... And then, on the basis of this, at the negotiating table we must without fail resolve as one of the most important issues the fate of the Armed Forces, endeavoring as far as possible to prevent them from being dragged off into national compartments. If it nevertheless proves impossible to reach agreement among the sovereign republics as a whole on this problem, we must at least not finally lose our common sense and must prevent attempts to divide the Strategic Rocket Forces and other military structures operating on the principle of unified systems. We must agree who will control them and how. The General Staff, for instance.

And in general, I would emphasize once again, the republics' natural desire to have forces reliably defending their independence could perfectly well be implemented without splitting our common Army. For this it is sufficient to have a national or republican guard performing militia functions.

[Vladykin] So the political reality of our time has made the need for profound military reform still clearer. But the draft concept of reform elaborated in the Defense Ministry was submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet for consideration before the coup as part of a package with the drafts of other laws on defense topics. In your view, what should be the future fate of these drafts? Can they be useful in any respect now, after such radical changes in society?

[Lobov] At one time I was included in the commission that was to elaborate the concept of reform. But I was effectively isolated from practical activity. They clearly did not like my proposals for cardinal transformations in the Armed Forces and the entire defense complex. So I do not know what research and forecasts the drafts were based on. I had the opportunity to see only the content of the versions published in the open press. As yet I have simply had no time to study the relevant General Staff documents. I am working on a tight schedule.

Nevertheless, I want to say that I do not totally reject the existing concept. A large collective of specialists worked to create it. Presumably they did not base their conclusions on thin air. And they moved in general in the right direction. The fact that the people who defined the ultimate goals of the military reform deliberately restricted the scale and tasks of the projected transformations to half measures is quite another matter. This is why I think we must again make a thorough study of many aspects of the concept.

And of course, the substantially changed situation in the country must also be taken into account here. The drafts created by other collectives and even by individual authors must not be ignored either. After all, I too have my own concept of military reform, but I do not regard it as the only correct one. So I am convinced that it will be possible to implement really cardinal and far-reaching transformations in the country's defense complex only by utilizing the entire intellectual potential involved in the military sphere.

It may be advisable to set up a special organ under the USSR president to elaborate the concept of military reform independently of any departments and organizations. Let it collect and generalize all the existing and emerging drafts, proposals, and results of the researches of various creative collectives and recruit the requisite specialists for expert assessments. Let it choose what is most rational from what has been accumulated and use that as the basis for preparing the final version of the concept. An independent commission would be able to approach resolving this task in an unbiased fashion and in total freedom from departmental diktat and group ambitions.

[Vladykin] Could you not share your own vision of the necessary transformations, at least in general outline? For instance, in your view, what should be the future structure of the Armed Forces if they remain common to all the sovereign republics?

[Lobov] Above all the Army must be easily manageable, so to speak—from the high command down to subunits. Now in many regions we have whole clusters of duplicate, parallel military structures. For instance, there are aviation units in the Air Force and in the Air Defense Forces which perform very similar if not identical tasks. Is this necessary today, is it justified?

So we must give serious thought to the number of and correlation between branches of the Armed Forces. Of course, we must not be in a great hurry, we must not immediately rush to switch units from one commander in chief to another, but we must carefully study the question. After all, the more branches of the Armed Forces there are, the more difficult it is to organize collaboration between them. Surely it is better to implement some kind of amalgamation measures, eliminating redundant staffs and intermediate control components and thereby reducing the gap between the direct executants of combat tasks and the General Staff.

We now have an astonishing situation: Proportionately the Armed Forces control apparatus is almost equal to the portion of the Armed Forces that actually ensures the combat readiness and combat capability of the troops and naval forces. This situation must be fundamentally changed.

[Vladykin] Not so long ago the reduction in the size of the USSR Armed Forces was declared to be the starting point of the military reform and was presented as its key action. Do you think that the continuing process of reductions is sufficiently well adjusted and justified in present conditions?

[Lobov] This process is taking place consistently, in strict compliance with the predetermined stages and on the basis of the commitments adopted by our country—both under international accords and in development of unilateral initiatives. It was begun as a result of decisions elaborated by the state's political leadership. The military's business is to implement them in practice.

I know what truly titanic work was done to calculate this extremely complex large-scale operation down to the smallest detail. And it has been possible to carry it out largely without detriment to the Army's combat readiness. But the social backup for the reductions has not worked out. The housing problem has deteriorated sharply—many officers, warrant officers, and servicemen discharged into the reserve remain without apartments. Not everything here has proved well thought-out and calculated, and the situation will now have to be rectified.

[Vladykin] Incidentally, in this connection how do you assess the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president's recent order "On Strengthening Social Protection for Servicemen Serving on RSFSR Territory"?

[Lobov] To be honest, at first I was actually astonished. The members of the so-called SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] tried to use the Army for their own dubious purposes. Russian blood was shed. You would have thought this might have prompted an alienated attitude toward the military. But in this tricky situation Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin found it possible to pay attention to the Armed Forces' extremely acute needs—housing for servicemen, benefits for members of their families. It is an exceptionally wise decision that has been adopted.

This is a good example to other republics. They need to seek not confrontation with the military, not to try to drive the Army into a "corner," but to seek mutual understanding with it. Then, I am sure, it too will invariably respond in kind.

[Vladykin] Nevertheless, no matter how much every career serviceman may rejoice at the prospect of living in human conditions, it is factors of a different kind that are of prime importance for the Armed Forces' successful performance of their tasks. Armaments, combat equipment, the material and technical base for training... All this takes money. Do you think that the military budget is being spent rationally and that its size and structure fully ensure defense sufficiency?

[Lobov] The question requires the most careful study. Because of the aforementioned reasons, as yet I cannot give an exhaustive answer to it. Although I will say that in the very near future we will begin drawing up our proposals for next year's military budget. Admittedly,

here too we will have to take as our starting point what the country is going to be like. Who is going to finance defense? From what sources? What pledges will be required from the Defense Ministry for this? There is a lot that remains unclear.

One thing is clear: The people, or let us now say the peoples, in subsidizing defense, will zealously demand of us that the allocated funds are used as efficiently as possible. In the prevailing conditions, it seems to me, it is now impossible to satisfy these demands by placing the emphasis exclusively on the quantitative aspect of our activity. It is time to reorient ourselves not just in words but in reality toward ensuring qualitative parameters of defense. The Army and the Navy must be equipped with the most modern arms and equipment, mostly new generation equipment. And this must be maintained and controlled by high-class professionals, of course.

[Vladykin] We have come to a question that has long been debated. Literally everyone about the place is speaking of the need to professionalize the Armed Forces. But different people attach by no means the same meaning to this concept. How do you interpret it?

[Lobov] Well, there is indeed a lot of argument about professionalizing military service. Because it is objectively overdue. The scientific and technical revolution is literally forcing us to change approaches toward the organization and methods of conducting armed struggle. A recent illustration of this was the combat operations in the Persian Gulf zone. Ultramodern weapons and military equipment that can be used only by servicemen with thorough professional training were employed there on an unprecedented scale.

We too are faced with the task of ensuring that the majority of officers, warrant officers, and soldiers in the Armed Forces are precisely professionals of that kind. That is, we need to raise as high as possible the level of training and competence of every serviceman involved in the control, combat use, and servicing of modern means of waging armed struggle. He must become a specialist in the full sense of the word.

Unfortunately the existing system of instruction in combat specialties and procedure for the performance of service by young people drafted for two years do not make it possible to train the professionals so essential to an Army equipped with the last word in equipment. A great deal will have to be changed radically. And we will have to switch gradually to staffing the troops and naval forces with specialists on a contract basis.

The introduction of contract service opens up good prospects. First, the person who signs a contract will voluntarily assume specific commitments. He becomes administratively, juridically, and materially responsible for the sector of work assigned to him. Second, under a contract system a longer term of service can be established and it can be further extended later, which will enable the serviceman to make a profound study of his specialty and then thoroughly assimilate it in practice. And, third, people who have consciously chosen the military profession are far more reliable than those drafted under the military service obligation.

Of course, a professional serviceman will have to be remunerated according to principles very different from those that apply at present. The leveling pay in the Army must be replaced by wages which provide powerful incentives for professional development and a conscientious attitude toward work on the part of everyone who has signed a contract. In my view, there must be a minimum level—basic pay—but at the same time the wage could double or increase even further if a serviceman performs his set tasks to high standards.

[Vladykin] That is one of the most widespread proposals that we at the editorial office receive from troops.

[Lobov] I too have heard it from many people. Military people, like anyone else, must have an interest in the results of their labor. Simplistically speaking, it could look like this. If you have looked after equipment and increased its lifetime, you will be paid well for this. If you have accurately launched a missile, you will get a bonus...

Moreover, this kind of approach toward assessing servicemen's labor will place a serious obstacle in the way of nasty phenomena in the military environment like protectionism and careerism.

Why do many people want to rise up the service ladder or push their proteges in that direction? Because military people can improve their material and social position only through official promotion. But under the system I mentioned, a superb professional, even if he holds a very modest post, will be able to secure for himself a high income, stable social status, and, of course, prestige among the people around him.

[Vladykin] If the professionalization of the Army opens up prospects like this, is it advisable to switch all servicemen over to the contract system in due course?

[Lobov] That is economically disadvantageous and unjustified from the purely military viewpoint. I will cite an extremely simple example. In the crew of an infantry fighting vehicle superb training is indeed demanded of the commander, the gunner-operator, and the driver-mechanic. They are the specialists whom there is some point in switching to the contract system. But in its troop compartment the infantry fighting vehicle carries several riflemen whose purpose is to mount an attack on foot. Just tell me why they should be made professionals and paid high wage rates? After all, you can teach any normal person relatively quickly to accurately fire an assault rifle. So that contingent should continue to be drafted. It is even permissible to reduce its term of service to 18 months. Which, incidentally, is what we are planning to do.

[Vladykin] Nevertheless, despite the retention of the draft, the proportion of professional servicemen in the

Armed Forces will become very big. And, as is well known, the mark of a professional is that he must be utterly dedicated to his job. But in order to achieve this the Army must at long last be relieved of performing functions that do not properly belong to it.

[Lobov] Quite right. That will happen in due course. In the meantime we simply must realize that we share the fate of our people. We experience the same difficulties, we resolve common problems. We have no right to shut ourselves away from our compatriots in military camps.

Today, in the existing situation, demands that peasants deal with agriculture, skilled workers work at machine tools and on construction projects, and servicemen merely learn to shoot and drive combat vehicles remain merely good intentions. We will be able together to extricate the country's economy from its profound crisis by helping each other at the most critical moments, and then everything will fall into its proper place and this universal confusion will disappear.

So the other day, when Muscovites asked me to assign 35,000 troops to agricultural work to help farms in Moscow Oblast, I immediately issued appropriate orders. Had I not done so, the capital could have been left without vegetables for the winter.

[Vladykin] But I was referring not only to the use of soldiers' labor to help the national economy. In recent years the Army has increasingly often been entrusted with militia functions and has sometimes simply been ordered to get involved in adventures like that launched by the notorious SCSE...

[Lobov] I learned of what happened 19 August when I was at the Frunze Military Academy's study center near Naro-Fominsk. As chief of the academy, I was conducting entrance examinations there. And I well remember that I felt a strong sense of indignation and protest when I received news that troops had been moved into Moscow. You cannot do that—send tanks against unarmed people...

[Vladykin] Please tell me, Vladimir Nikolayevich, surely it is time we introduced a juridical norm to prevent use of both the entire Army and each serviceman for dubious purposes? The regulations of some foreign armies include a provision regarding "criminal orders." Had that existed in our country, the putschists might not have succeeded in getting even two or three platoons onto the streets of the capital. But at present we are all—from soldier to general—forced to implicitly obey any order and do not have the right to question its legality.

[Lobov] Yes, the constitution, general civil law, and the regulations must guarantee the military some protection from the necessity of obeying orders prompting them to commit a crime. Let lawyers decide how this can best be done. But the existing situation can no longer be retained. Unfortunately, during those alarming August days very many servicemen had to resolve an almost insoluble moral contradiction. To comply strictly with rigid professional norms and obey guidelines received from "on high," or to obey their own conscience and intellect and... The acute situation nevertheless forced everyone to make their choice one way or another. But I believe that even now, after some time, no serviceman can find total mental peace and can give a clear answer to the simple question: "Was I right in what I did then?" Military people must be delivered once and for all from such ordeals. Delivered by the law.

In the meantime I want to appeal to all Armed Forces servicemen. Assess any of your colleagues primarily on the basis of their professional qualities and their level of professional competence. At these dramatic times for the country we must all preserve unity in troop collectives and in the Armed Forces in general so that they can continue to perform their main job—defending the homeland.

Yeltsin Adviser Volkogonov Details Army Reform

PM1009142791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[Interview with Dmitriy Volkogonov, adviser to the Russian president, by I. Prelovskaya; place and date not given: "Dmitriy Volkogonov on the Army Without the CPSU, on History and the Future"]

[Text] Our interlocutor Dmitriy Volkogonov—adviser to the Russian president, and a well-known historian and philosopher—has just returned from Britain. During the fateful days of August he was confined to a hospital bed and underwent two serious operations which (he did not fail to point out) were paid for by royalties for books published abroad. On the evening of 20 August, when he was in the hospital, he issued an appeal on the BBC to Soviet soldiers not to raise their hand against their own people.

[Volkogonov] I was sure that six years of contact with democratic freedoms had not been unproductive for the Army either. Only a section of the old generals could support the State Committee for the State of Emergency from conviction. But our old system was such that the Defense Ministry was a ministry of the CPSU Central Committee. Every hint from Old Square was taken as an order. And what happened? The party leadership cost the Army dearly. Every time the party left the trenches—Tbilisi, Vilnius, Riga—it meant a new crime against the people for the Army. Finally came Moscow... This time, too, the top Army leadership could not and did not want to take the only possible position of loyalty to the Constitution.

The question of freeing the Army from party diktat arose long ago. The coup merely accelerated that decision. Now the USSR Armed Forces Main Military-Political Directorate has finally been scrapped, as have the political organs and party structures in the Army, too. But this is what really troubles me. Organs of combat training and moral-psychological education are being created in place of the political organs. Military training

is the concern of commanders, but people's psychological state depends on the style of life and management. What is meant by moral education? Might it not turn out that both the methods and content of this work will remain the same. Why did I once propose creating organs of information and social protection for servicemen in place of political organs? This would be a direct change of functions. Information—cultural, political, technical, religious—exists in any Army. It does not presuppose the kind of targeted influence on the individual that we have in mind when we speak about education. Social protection in the Army is vitally necessary; such as solving the issues of housing, pension provision, employment, and so forth. A new basis, new functions, and fresh forces are needed. Such forces exist. I am afraid, however, that political workers of the old stamp are in a hurry to make changes in such a way that the old field of their activity is not plowed over too deeply.

[Prelovskaya] Dmitriy Antonovich, in spring there was a very harsh discussion of the first volumes of the planned 10-volume history of the Great Patriotic War. You were removed from the Institute of Military History then. Now the main critics headed by the minister have been "fired." Do you feel the need to defend the work that was begun?

[Volkogonov] No, time will defend it. The new time. Our generals in the top military leadership believed that they had the right to dictate to academics how to write history. I hope that neither the defense minister, military chiefs, nor the general inspectors will interference in the scientific process any more now. Incidentally, General V. Lobov, the new chief of the General Staff, is himself a major academic and a doctor of sciences. History must not depend either on short-term political interests, ideological guidelines, or the personal ambitions of military leaders. Historians themselves must determine the research concept and be accountable to readers for their work. Memoirs with their natural subjectivism are one thing, an objective analysis of events is another. For the sake of "history" I kept one copy of the pulped first volume, which was dedicated to prewar events. I do not know what condition it is in now. But in general I think that the time for a major work which would put everything in its rightful place has not come yet. Much has not endured and far from all the documents were available to historians...

For me personally, the Institute of Military History is already a thing of the past. But the vexing thing is that the man appointed as its leader is not an academic but another serving general. I do not want to offend him. He is probably a good commander. But a definite trend can be seen here—an attempt to directly subordinate history to the military leadership and to continue commanding science. I do not know how this will change now but in the past six months they have managed to undo quite a lot of what we thought and began.

Our society must know the historical truth about itself. In my book on Stalin I quoted a figure of war losses—27 million people including the civilian population. In his report dedicated to the 45th anniversary of Victory Day M.S. Gorbachev mentioned that figure. But recently they have begun disputing it again and insisting on reducing it. But why turn your back on the documents? Individual people cannot be allowed, as Moiseyev or Falin did, to determine which documents historians should be given and which they should not. The CPSU Central Committee archives still contain sealed files of war papers. A commission of specialists is needed to determine the historical significance of the documents and the character of their future use. Important chapters of our history are sealed up in the archives. For example, on mutual relations between the party and the Communist International, correspondence between Lenin and Trotskiy, everything connected with the preparation of world revolution, and much else.

[Prelovskaya] In the Army, by virtue of its specific nature, the totalitarian system has obviously manifested itself more powerfully than in other state institutions.

[Volkogonov] We are all the children of the system that is disappearing. We must all overcome the neobolshevism and aggressive intolerance of alternative thinking within ourselves. Society has polarized recently. This should not be dramatized. The political spectrum must contain all hues, otherwise we will inevitably slide into like-mindedness, which would be hideously dangerous. There must be no encouragement of attempts at denunciation, score-settling, and adulation campaigns. The past has a tight grip on us. Patience and wisdom are needed if extremes are to be avoided.

[Prelovskaya] Emancipation, on the one hand, and economic crisis, on the other, have led to an eruption of national feelings and subsequently to centrifugal forces in the republics. Statements on state sovereignty are now being followed by decisions on the creation of individual armed forces.

[Volkogonov] The best solution is to preserve the single Armed Forces. It would be good to enshrine all this in a corresponding treaty. This solution is politically, economically, and historically more correct. Russia, I think, will not be the initiator of the creation of its own Army. But it cannot be ruled out that it will be forced to take that path if other republics do not support the idea of unity.

We have been speaking for a long time now about the transitional period in our life, but in essence we are only entering it now. But I think that life is leading us toward the point where after some time centripetal tendencies also intensify. The need for a common economic space is the pledge of that. In any event, a common nuclear-weapons monitoring organ will be needed. Be that as it may, the very attempt to split up the Armed Forces is not a progressive phenomenon and, of course, is highly costly. We will soon see that for ourselves even though it would be easier for Russia than for the others to create its own Army because 70 percent of the present Armed Forces are a Russian potential. Nevertheless, preventing the division of the Army is a very important opportunity for preserving calm and stability in relations among the new sovereign states.

Baltic Affairs

Security Council To Discuss Baltics Admission

OW1009143091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1320 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Today the UN Security Council is beginning an official discussion on the admission of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia to the United Nations. The news as given by Vytautas Landsbergis, Chairman of the Lithuanian Parliament, at the latter's session which opened today. On September 17, the UN General Assembly will consider the admission of the Baltic states to the United Nations.

Mr. Landsbergis said the re-entry of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia into the international community was particularly important since this would, in his opinion, accelerate the withdrawal of "foreign" armed forces from Lithuania and the other Baltic republics. He emphasised that now the independence of Lithuania had been recognised by the Soviet Union there were no reasons, not even "spurious" ones, for the continued presence of Soviet forces on its territory. Lithuania would seek support from Western countries and the international community in general in its endeavours to settle this issue, Mr. Landsbergis said.

Also today, Lithuanian representatives began negotiations with the Soviet Defence Minister, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, on the gradual withdrawal of Soviet troops from Lithuanian territory. This afternoon, Marshal Shaposhnikov is going to meet delegations from all three republics.

Baltics Sign Environmental Pact With Denmark

PM1009145891 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE SONDAG in Danish 8 Sep 91 p 4

[Kirsten Sorrig report: "The Baltic States' First Agreements With a Foreign Government"]

[Text] Environment Minister Per Stig Moller (Conservative) returned yesterday from a visit to the Baltic countries after signing the world's first government agreements with the three newly independent states.

The agreements between Denmark and Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania cover close cooperation on environmental issues. But the EC and the Nordic Council were also on Per Stig Moller's agenda.

"We agreed that we should each work separately for the creation of a 'Baltic Forum,' which will consist of the Nordic Council and a corresponding Baltic Council. I also promised Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis support for their application for EC membership. There is a very intense concern in the Baltic countries about entering into close economic agreements with Russia," Environment Minister Per Stig Moller said.

The new environmental agreements open the way for close cooperation between Baltic and Danish authorities, firms, institutions, and private organizations on the transfer of know-how and technology in the environmental field. The program will build on bilateral cooperation.

"They are very interested in acquiring greater knowledge about handling chemical waste and reducing air pollution. And in this field there is more than enough to tackle. There is serious air pollution in Lithuania, and I saw some terrible dumps in Riga," the environment minister said.

The main points in the new environmental cooperation program will be training and education, industry and waste, water in the environment and groundwater protection, the protection of the countryside, and the environmental aspects of energy production.

Bulgaria Grants Diplomatic Recognition to Baltics

LD1009191591 Moscow TASS in English 1819 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Viktor Runov]

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS— A declaration on the restoration of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Bulgaria and Estonia and Latvia, and the establishment of diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Lithuania, has been signed today at the Bulgarian Embassy in Moscow.

The document was signed by the Bulgarian foreign minister and his counterparts from the three Baltic republics.

The declaration says, in particular, that Bulgaria, wishing to develop good-neighbourly relations with independent Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, establishes relations with them at an embassy level.

ROK Recognizes Baltic Republics' Independence

SK0909123091 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1100 GMT 7 Sep 91

[From "Asian News" in the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] The ROK recognized the independence of the countries of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

In a news conference in Seoul, ROK Foreign Minister Yi Sang-ok stated that the ROK has not yet established diplomatic relations with these Baltic nations. He said that between late September to early October, the spokesman of the ROK Foreign Ministry will visit the capitals, Vilinius, Riga, and Tallinn, and hold discussions on establishing diplomatic relations.

The ROK established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in September 1990.

India Recognizes Independence of Baltic States

OW1009144191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1320 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] India has officially recognised the independence of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The news comes from the Indian embassy in Moscow. The relevant statement of the Indian government has been sent to the governments of all three republics.

Estonia

Savisaar Discusses Union 'Divorce Process'

LD1109133591 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1200 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Interview with Estonian Supreme Council Chairman Edgar Savisaar by Jaan Raudsepp on 11 September; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Raudsepp] Mr. Savisaar, you will meet Barannikov, union internal affairs minister, today to sign a new agreement. I call it new because some differences must evidently exist compared with the document which you concluded with the then internal affairs minister.

[Savisaar] Yes, of course there are differences because then it was a document for our transition period, and now we are talking about a document between two independent states. It has to do with this divorce process—that is, we are talking about the withdrawal from Estonia of militia forces first and foremost, forces subordinated to the union Internal Affairs Ministry. We have now agreed that the militia regiment—the one we see patrolling from time to time on Tallinn streets and which has also been to Transcaucasia a couple of times—the militia regiment will be withdrawn during the current year, before the end of the year. The lads of Estonia serving in the militia regiment—we sent our lads there at one time—they will be freed from service and will be transferred to the Republic of Estonia service. Another militia unit we have is a convoy regiment. A section of it will also withdraw by the end of the year. In respect of the other section, we have agreed that we will retain it here on a contractual basis until July. This is the unit dealing with prison camps' watch at Rummu and Vasalemma. It will take us about six months before we manage to train men in sufficient numbers to equip them and prepare them to take over the watchtowers and everything else there that is necessary.

It also deals with this kind of Interpol-style cooperation. On the one hand, the Soviet Union will hand back the criminals who have fled to the union from Estonia and who have been declared wanted here and the other way round: We, too, will help to locate union criminals in the Republic of Estonia. Cooperation with technology is dealt with, with equipment, and with setting up databases on crimes.

On the one hand, this will be an agreement which will bring the divorce of internal affairs forces to its conclusion; on the other hand, it deals with this kind of normal cooperation in the fight against crime between both countries' ministries of internal affairs and internal defense forces. [passage omitted]

Of course, resolving military issues is the most complex area because one can feel that the current priority for the other party is the withdrawal of troops from eastern Germany and that they strive for a delay with these matters in our area. So, these talks are quite difficult.

Demand for Talks on Borders With Russia

LD1109044191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] The congress of Estonian citizens has demanded that the republic's parliament talks with the Russian Supreme Soviet on the territorial issue. The sitting of the congress of Estonian citizens which took place last Saturday and unites the residents of the republic who held Estonian citizenship before it was annexed to the Soviet Union adopted a resolution which puts forward territorial claims on Russia. These claims are connected with the fact that (?Volosti) which is situated on the right bank of the Narva as well as part of the district of Petseri-Pechory in Russia were annexed respectively to the Leningrad and Pskov Oblasts of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic by a decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1944. Thus, it is noted in the congress's resolution, international law was crudely violated. In the document it is also stressed that the issue of borders remains open in the treaty concluded between Russia and Estonia at the beginning of 1991. The congress resolves that officials from the Estonian Republic who will represent its interests in the above regions should be appointed until talks with Russia are finished. If Russia refuses to return the territories, international bodies should be appealed to for help, it is stated in the resolution of the congress of Estonian citizens.

EC Protectionism Criticized at News Conference

PM1009142891 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE SONDAG in Danish 8 Sep 91 p 4

[Sten Jensen report: "Tough Words Against the EC"]

[Text] Tallinn—At a news conference yesterday with his Estonian counterpart, Lennart Meri, Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen spoke out against protectionism in the EC.

"We have the following choice: Either we protect our own interests, such as agriculture—and this also includesweat production—and we will see developments which the new democracies in the east cannot counter or resist. Or we can open our markets and bring them in/give them generous help and support. That is the choice facing us," Uffe Ellemann-Jensen said. Prior to the Danish foreign minister's verbal broadside against the EC countries, which blocked the way, for the time being at least, for the Baltic countries' hopes of swift association at a ministerial meeting in Brussels on Friday [6 September], his Estonian counterpart, Lennart Meri, had expressed himself in more figurative terms.

Lennart Meri said that the EC decision could be compared to stopping the clock, or even turning it back. "But the clock is running accurately, Europe has changed," was his view. Lennart Meri also said: "When we were sitting around the table in Brussels Uffe Ellemann-Jensen said that Danish farmers were ready to make certain sacrifices, or that he would at least be able to persuade them to do so. The German foreign minister said the same about farmers in West Germany, but other countries said 'no,'" Lennart Meri said.

"But Estonia has set out on the road which Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia have been following for some time," Mr. Meri said.

Uffe Ellemann-Jensen promised all possible Danish support both nationally and internationally, and his Estonian counterpart responded several times by laying a hand on Uffe Ellemann-Jensen's arm and thanking him for Denmark's unreserved support for the reconstruction of his country.

New Customs Laws Become Effective 1 Oct

OW1009131891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1100 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A Customs and Tariffs Council has been established in Estonia with the aim of developing, in ten days, new regulations governing the work of the customs service, it was announced at a briefing in Tallinn yesterday (9th September). The President of the former Republican Customs Department, Vello Arusaar, stressed that the new rules would differ substantially from the Soviet laws currently in force. They were designed to "facilitate by all means the flow of goods into the republic", he said.

According to Arusaar, a system of red and green corridors will be introduced to the western borders of Estonia and the customs declaration will be abolished. The new customs duties and tariffs will be significantly lower than the previous ones. Mr. Arusaar said that to import a car will cost 500 Roubles.

The Council's work is headed by Estonian Finance Minister Rein Miller. It is planned to introduce the new Estonian customs regulations from October 1st. Until then the old regulations will remain in force.

Tax Benefits to Joint Ventures Granted

OW1009174191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1600 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday the Estonian Government passed a law on tax benefits for joint ventures in Estonia.

Estonia has reportedly abrogated Soviet laws on taxation of joint and foreign companies on its territory and granted foreign capital a number of benefits.

A joint venture with foreign partner's share of no less than 30 percent is now fully exempt from an income tax within two years starting from the moment of receiving its first gross income. During the next two years the income tax makes up 50 percent of the basic rate.

Joint ventures with foreign partner's share of no less than 50 percent and no less than 1 million U.S. dollars are exempt from an income tax during 3 years, and within the next 2 years the income tax makes up 50 percent of the basic rate.

The Estonian government plans to determine the republic's key industries in which the tax exemption period will be extended to 3 years.

The Estonian parliament has granted the republican government the right to establish additional benefits for individual enterpises.

Parliament Considers Canceling Deputies' Powers

OW1009144891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1320 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian Minister of Justice, Juri Raidla, told journalists yesterday that the Estonian parliament was shortly to consider two draft decrees.

One of them is to cancel the powers of USSR people's deputies elected in Estonian constituencies.

The other one will cancel the validity of the soldier's oath taken by Estonian citizens during their national service in the Soviet armed forces.

Azerbaijan Congratulates Republic on Independence

LD1109043491 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] A telegram has arrived today addressed to Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Council, from Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet Chairman Kafarova. It congratulates Arnold Ruutel and all Estonian people on behalf of the Azerbaijani parliament and the people on the occasion of restored independence. At the same time there is hope expressed that the good relations between Estonia and Azerbaijan that have existed for years will strengthen and expand in the future. This is what Kafarova hopes.

Latvia

Rubiks Faces Possible Death Sentence

LD1009133791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] The investigative bodies have at their disposal sufficient evidence of the guilt of Alfred Rubiks, former first secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee, reported the head of the investigation directorate for special cases of the procuracy of the Latvian Republic to a correspondent of the Russian Information Agency. Rubiks stands accused under Article 59 of the Criminal Code of Latvia for taking part in a conspiracy aimed at seizing power in the Republic. He faces a possible sentence of 10 to 15 years' deprivation of freedom, or the exceptional measure of punishment [death sentence].

More than 300 people have already been interrogated in the case, to identify all those who were involved in the coup. Members of the bureau of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee and of the bureau of the Riga City Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia are being investigated. Alfred Rubiks, who is being held in solitary confinement at his own request, is continuing a protest hunger strike, regarding his arrest as illegal.

Fair Trial Urged

PM1009151991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[V. Kozhemyako: "Rubiks on Hunger Strike; Deputies Protest"]

[Text] Two Latvian Republic Supreme Soviet deputies, Tatyana Zhdanok and Yevgeniy Drobot, visited our editorial office. This was on the instructions of their comrades from the Equal Rights deputies' group. They had come to Moscow out of anxiety over the fate of Alfreds Rubiks, Latvian Republic and USSR people's deputy and former head of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

As is well known, Rubiks was arrested 23 August for supporting the coup d'etat. The next day in protest he declared a hunger strike. And so far neither his family nor his colleagues in the republic's Supreme Soviet actually know anything about his fate.

"In all that time," Tatyana Zhdanok said, "only a CNN correspondent has been allowed to visit Rubiks in the detention center. The correspondent was allowed to ask just two questions—on complaints about his conditions in detention and the conduct of the investigation. Rubiks passed a letter via the journalist to Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, and thus it became known that he has been on hunger strike since 24 August. Then the CNN correspondent was told that the arrested man would be transferred to the prison infirmary."

Here is a noteworthy detail: The charge against Rubiks is based on Article 59 of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic criminal code, which is an exact copy of the article used during the political trials in the USSR in the late thirties: treason. The Equal Rights deputies' group asked the Moscow lawyers' collegium presidium to provide a counsel for the defense in this case. However, agreement has not been received from the Latvian prosecutor's office to a lawyer from Moscow—which, in the deputies' opinion, is a gross violation of human rights. The deputies' aim is not to vindicate Rubiks' actions but to ensure his rights to an independent defense.

"You will notice," Yevgeniy Drobot stressed, "that after Rubiks was arrested Vladimir Serdyukov, his assistant as first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, was arrested too. He has also declared a hunger strike and, presumably, is also in a serious condition."

Shaposhnikov To Retire Latvians From Army

LD1009210891 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1730 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] At the initiative of USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, the authorized representatives of the Union republics met today at the Ministry of Defense in Moscow to coordinate the prospects of transforming the armed forces and for a united defense system.

The interests of Latvia were represented by Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis and by deputies Talavs Jundzis and Mihails Stepicevs.

Talavs Jundzis told Latvian Radio about the Latvian delegation's talks with the defense minister. It must be agreed that the talks were initially viewed pessimistically, but they have been crowned with results that promise a great deal.

Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov announced that he is preparing to issue instructions within the next few days on the retirement of Latvians serving in the Soviet Army by 1 January, and on an amnesty to the boys who have deserted.

It is foreseen that by the end of the year the Riga military school named after Biryuzov will have been liquidated.

The talks became heated on the fate of the military commissariat. As a final result, the minister agreed to hand over its material basis, card indexes, and communications systems to the Republic of Latvia.

An agreement was reached during the talks to form an interstate commission which will tackle questions on the status of the Soviet forces in Latvia, and on the dates by which they must be withdrawn from the republic.

At 2200, the representatives of Latvia will leave Moscow, and you will hear a more extensive account by Talavs Jundzis about the talks in tomorrow's broadcasts.

Defense Spokesman on Decision on Servicemen

LD1009195991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0940 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Sep—"The adoption by the Latvian Supreme Soviet of amendments to the law on the status of people's deputies, according to which all servicemen who are People's Deputies of the republican Supreme Soviet are by 15 September to submit formal statements on discharge from the USSR armed forces, is the internal affair of Latvia, following the recognition of its independence". This is how this Latvian Parliamentary decision was commented upon today by Lieutenant General Leonid Ivashov, chief of administration of the USSR Ministry of Defense.

At the same time, Gen. Ivashov stressed that the solution of this issue could have been settled by some sort of treaty between Latvia and the USSR. "In a civilized world such decisions are not made unilterally", he said.

Property Claims of Foreigners Recognized

PM1009133191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Irina Litvinova report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Latvia Returns Property"]

[Text] Riga—The Latvian Supreme Soviet has resolved to recognize the ownership rights of foreign states, aliens, and juridical persons on the republic's territory which were illegally removed in 1940 following the annexation of the Latvian Republic.

Foreign states can reclaim the buildings and territory of their embassies and consulates once they have restored diplomatic and consular relations with Latvia.

On the basis of principles of international law, the Supreme Soviet has resolved not to recognize any agreements made by other states about property belonging to the Latvian Republic and its juridical and physical persons.

The government has been instructed to identify property belonging to Latvia and its juridical and physical persons in foreign states and to take measures to get it back.

Republic Personnel Joining Union Guards on Border

PM1009151791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Sep 91 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Who Should Guard the Baltic Borders?"]

[Text] As Lieutenant General V. Gaponenko, commander of the Baltic Border District troops, told a TASS correspondent, joint training of personnel for the Latvian Republic border protection service has begun in Riga, Ventspils, and Liepaja.

This became possible after the Baltic republics, having declared their state independence, had signed the relevant agreements with the USSR KGB Border Troops leadership. In the initial stages, representatives of the corresponding Union and republic services will jointly guard the borders.

Registration of volunteers began only a few days ago in Latvia, and the draft law "On the Border Protection Service" is at present at the discussion stage in the Supreme Soviet.

Representatives of republic formations have appeared at several border posts now. "It is premature to say that they are on duty guarding the borders jointly with border post personnel," Lt. Gen. Gaponenko noted.

"You can only call this a kind of apprenticeship."

Delegates Head to RSFSR for Shipment Talks

OW1009174391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1600 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A delegation of the Latvian Ministry of Material Resources' representatives and directors of trading and mediatory companies of Latvia traveled to Moscow September 10. The aim of their visit is to hold talks with the Russian Federation on mutual shipments between enterprises of Latvia and Russia for 1992.

Parliament Halts Activities of Party, Komsomol

LD1009200891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Today, the parliament of Latvia decided to halt the activities of the republican Communist Party, along with the Komsomol, the Internationalist Front of Latvian SSR's [Soviet Socialist Republic] Working People, the United Council of Labor Collectives, and the Organization of War and Labor Veterans.

The Supreme Soviet of Latvia has decided to transfer, free of charge, the property of these organizations to the ownership of the State.

Gorbunovs Receives Danish Foreign Minister

LD1109010991 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian 1300 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen arrived in Riga today on an official visit. He had a meeting with Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council, and Foreign Affairs Minister Janis Jurkans. They stressed the special role of Denmark in international support for the aspiration of the peoples of the Baltic countries in restoring their state independence.

Lithuania

Official Soviet Notice of Recognition Received

OW1009144391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1320 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Our correspondent reports from Vilnius that the Lithuanian Government has today received via diplomatic channels a document from the State Council of the USSR marked "SC 1, September 6, 1991" on the recognition of the independence of the Lithuanian Republic. Similar messages were sent to the governments of Latvia and Estonia.

Republic Has Highest Unemployment Rate in Baltics

OW1009131791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1100 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to a "BALTFAX" correspondent in Lithuania about 20,000 people have to date registered as unemployed (in comparison, 11,000 have registered in Latvia and a mere 400 in Estonia). Specialists at the republic's labour exchange predict that, unless measures are taken promptly to increase employment, this figure may rise by five times over the next few months.

Council Reaffirms Commitment to Human Rights

LD1109094191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 10 Sep 91

["Statement by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania on the Obligations of the Republic of Lithuania arising from the European Convention for Protecting Human Rights and Basic Freedoms of 4 November 1950" signed by Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, confirming loyalty to universally acknowledged human rights and basic freedoms, once again stressing its determination effectively to ensure the rights proclaimed in the universal declaration on human rights by the UN General Assembly of 10 December 1948, bearing in mind the resolution of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania of 12 March 1991 on the Republic of Lithuania joining the documents of the international human rights charter, striving to join the activity in the sphere of protecting human rights and freedoms of the EC institutions, states:

The Republic of Lithuania will respect and conscientiously fulfill all obligations stated in the European convention for protecting human rights and basic freedoms of 4 November 1950.

[Signed] Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania

Council Issues Appeal on War Criminals

LD1109022491 Moscow TASS in English 1007 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Ustsila]

[Text] Vilnius September 10 TASS—"We want only justice. Not a single person whose participation in the genocide against Jews or in killing unarmed people is proved can be rehabilitated," an appeal of the Lithuanian parliament says.

The appeal was prompted by recent publications in the Western press that the current wave of rehabilitation in the republic may exonerate people who committed crimes against Jews during the Second World War.

"By setting up a joint working group from Lithuanian and Israeli parliamentarians to examine each case in doubt, we could prevent possible mistakes of rehabilitation, groundless rumours and accusations against the whole republic," the appeal says.

The parliament presidium welcomed a proposal made by U.S. congressmen in a letter to Lithuanian parliamentary head Vytautas Landsbergis to cooperate with the U.S. Ministry of Justice in solving this problem.

Armed Groups Urged To Return Weapons

LD1009180791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Statement released by the Government and the General Procuracy of the Republic of Lithuania; date not given]

[Text] The republican law enforcement bodies have recently received reports that persons possessing firearms have emerged in various places in Lithuania. There are grounds to suspect that these persons belonged to the

former OMON unit and other groups that took part in actions hostile to the Republic of Lithuania.

The government and the General Procuracy of the Republic of Lithuania state that persons unlawfully possessing firearms and carrying these weapons can be prosecuted in accordance with article 234 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Lithuania.

To avoid armed incidents and reduce psychological tension in the society, we urge these groups to voluntarily hand in their firearms to the nearest police commissariat.

Some Vilnius OMON Members Depart Lithuania

OW1009132191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1100 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with Lithuanian Television the republic's vice premier, Zigmas Vaishvila, announced that 39 members of the Vilnius OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] riot police had left the republic and that five remained at the Vilnius military garrison. The vice premier said that the fate of a further 90 or so remained unclear. It could not be ruled out that they were armed and hiding out somewhere in the republic.

Yeltsin-Kohl Phone Conversation on Situation

PM0909154591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 91 Union Edition p 7

[TASS report under the general heading "Conversations With the FRG Chancellor"]

[Text] FRG Federal Chancellor H. Kohl telephoned RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President Boris Yeltsin 5 September in the afternoon. During their 20-minute conversation, Pavel Voshchanov, the president's press secretary, reported, the chancellor once again expressed his delight at the victory of democratic forces and support for the Russian leadership's position and for the Muscovites' actions.

At the federal chancellor's request, B. Yeltsin informed him of the political situation in the country and of the results of the recently concluded extraordinary Fifth Congress of USSR People's Deputies. The chancellor invited the Russian president to pay an official visit to the FRG at the end of November. The invitation was received with thanks. The main aim of the visit, as both leaders agreed, was to discuss various aspects of bilateral relations, particularly economic aspects.

St Petersburg Marks Anniversary of Nazi Seige

LD0909022491 Moscow TASS in English 0020 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Anna Shcherbakova]

[Text] Sankt Petersburg September 8 TASS—Residents of Sankt Petersburg today marked the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the Nazi siege of the city on the Neva during World War II.

Chimes were ringing all over the city. Holy Masses were served in memory of victims of the 900-day siege. "During shellings, this side of the street is most dangerous," reads a sign on a house on the Nevskiy Avenue, reminding city residents of the tragedy. Today, city leaders laid a wreath to the memorial plaque.

Thousands of residents today visited the Piskarevskoye Memorial Cemetery, where a mournful ceremony was held with the participation of the residents of besieged Leningrad Voluntary Society, the Union of Children of the Siege, city authorities, clergymen and employees of foreign countries' general consulates. They laid wreaths and flowers to the motherland monument and common graves.

Memorial ceremonies were also held at the Serafimovskoye Cemetery and the monument to heroic defenders of the besieged city at Victory Square. Siege and war veterans marched along the Nevskiy Avenue. People revered the memory of those, who perished during the war on the only road along Lake Ladoga, which connected Leningrad with the country.

Many people, who lived in Leningrad during the siege, arrived in the city from all over the country to take part in memorial events. They discussed creating a union society to deal with social protection of those who survived during the siege.

Khasbulatov, Russian Delegation Arrive in Tokyo

Meet With Kaifu

LD0909103691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0936 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo, 9 Sep (TASS)— The delegation of Russian parliamentarians headed by Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, which arrived in Tokyo today at the invitation of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, met Toshiki Kaifu, prime minister of Japan. R.I. Khasbulatov handed over to the head of the Japanese Government a personal message from Boris Yeltsin, President of Russia. Kaifu invited B.N. Yeltsin to pay a visit to Japan.

Answering a request from the TASS correspondent to give a short assessment on the results of the meeting, R.I. Khasbulatov noted that it "was an interesting conversation, rich in content and serious, which inspires great optimism and hope that we will in the future resolve all the questions complicating relations between Russia and Japan, bearing in mind the mutual interests and the public opinion in both countries." Naturally, he said, we spoke about our problems: about the "northern territories," the need for urgent economic aid, and about the importance of dynamic interparliamentary and cultural links.

In reply to a question as to whether any concrete proposals had been put forward by the Russian delegation on settling territorial problems, the head of the delegation of Russian legislators said that parliaments do not conduct discussions on concrete questions, on the wherefore, why, and other questions. "Parliaments determine policy. That is what we spoke about," R.I. Khasbulatov pointed out.

More on Visit

LD0909182991 Moscow TASS in English 1717 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Vasily Golovnin, Vladimir Kuchko and Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo September 9 TASS—The visit to Tokyo of a group of Russian parliament members, headed by acting chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov, which began today, is the first step to establish qualitatively new relations between sovereign Russia and Japan. The delegation, which arrived here at the invitation of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party of

Japan, includes chairman of the economic reform and property committee of the Russian Supreme Soviet Sergei Krasavchenko, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet's cultural commission Fedor Polenov, and deputy foreign minister of the Russian Federation Georgy Kunadze.

The Russian guests had a meeting today with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu. Khasbulatov handed to him a personal message from Russia's President Boris Yeltsin, outlining the Russian Federation's approach to the development of bilateral relations, including the signing of a peace treaty and the settlement of territorial issue. The Russian leadership intends to settle this problem, TASS has learned from delegation sources, after due consultations with the people and by providing them with honest and objective information. The message expresses the view that the Russian people, who have fought for democracy, legality and justice, will henceforth be guided by these principles in the effort to settle difficult problems linked with Russian-Japanese relations.

Kaifu said during the talks that he favoured the establishment of new, stable relations with the Russian Federation, paving the way to the earliest possible conclusion of a peace treaty. He noted that Japan supported the efforts of leading industrially advanced countries to render assistance to the Soviet Union and intended to promote maximum cooperation with the USSR. The prime minister invited Boris Yeltsin to visit Japan.

Asked by TASS to assess the results of the meeting, Khasbulatov noted that it was an "interesting, comprehensive and serious talk, inspiring great optimism and hope that all problems, aggravating relations between Russia and Japan, will eventually be settled with due account for mutual interests and public opinion in both countries".

The delegation of the Russian Supreme Soviet also met chairmen of the two houses of the Japanese parliament Ioshio Sakurauti and Yesihiko Tsutia, and general secretary of the Liberal-Democratic Party Keizo Obuchi. [names as received]

The leadership of the ruling Japanese party arranged a reception in honour of the Russian parliamentary delegation today. Greeting the guests, Obuchi noted that the visit came at a responsible and tense period experienced by their republic. He expressed the hope that Japanese-Russian relations would be further strengthened.

"Russia is beginning to be a subject of international relations," Khasbulatov said in his reply speech. "This means that all problems of bilateral relations are now assuming a qualitatively new aspect and the entire burden of all the problems, linked with the peace settlement, including the territorial issue, now rests on the Russian Federation. This approach does not contradict the federal government's view on these problems. They are today's realities and our political line is sufficiently well coordinated."

"The CPSU leadership," Khasbulatov noted, "constantly persuaded public opinion that relations with Japan should be based on the principle of winner and loser. The present Russian policy renounces this approach most resolutely and intends to cultivate these relations on the basis of international law, universally accepted concepts of justice, humanism, respect for our partner, goodneighbourly relations with the great Japanese people. Proceeding from this, it will be possible to quickly reach a common view on the existing issues. At the same time," Khasbulatov noted, "conservative stereotypes and prejudices are very strong in Russian public opinion, which has been subjected to manipulations for such a long time. Hence, it is necessary to exert joint efforts in order to resolve existing problems in the spirit of goodneighbourliness. The leadership of the Russian parliament believes that the development of all-round contacts could change public opinion quickly and radically."

Going over to the territorial problem, he recalled that Yeltsin had previously proposed a plan for its stage-by-stage solution. "However," Khasbulatov noted, "life is developing dynamically and making its important corrections. This is why the message sent by Russia's president to the Japanese prime minister reflects qualitative changes in the previous position, intended to shorten the stages of such a settlement. However, the sides must be ready to meet each other halfway," Khasbulatov stressed.

Japanese LDP Group Visits Russian Officials

LD0809063991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1839 GMT 7 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Sep (TASS)—"We arrived during this dramatic but very interesting period in the USSR's life in order to establish links at the level of politicians," said Tamisuke Watanuki, head of a parliamentary delegation of the Liberal-Democratic Party [LDP] of Japan in an interview with a TASS correspondent. The delegation is here on the invitation of Gennadiy Burbulis, deputy chairman of the Supreme Consultative and Coordination Council of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, and Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov. According to Tamisuke Watanuki, it is the politicians who can influence in a decisive way the normalization of Soviet-Japanese relations and fill them with new contents of good-neighborliness and mutually beneficial cooperation.

Tamisuke Watanuki said that all the meetings the delegation had with RSFSR Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and a number of USSR and RSFSR state and public figures were characterized by the Soviet side's sincere interest for Japan and for finding a solution to the problems that have accumulated between the two countries. "We have met with a great understanding of our mission," he said, "and on coming home, we will

discuss with our party the possibilities that have been opened, for establishing contacts between Russian and LDP members of parliament, particularly young ones."

According to the head of the Japanese delegation, the LDP will also analyze the prospects of establishing interparty links with newly established political parties and movements in the USSR. "We would like to have contacts with political forces, parties, and leaders that will really stand for freedom and democracy," he said.

Speaking about the terriorial issue, Tamisuke Watanuki pointed out that it is the Soviet participants who are suggesting this as a subject for discussion during the Moscow meetings. They emphasized that it will be Russia that will play a central part in resolving this issue. "We used to think that the Soviet Union is our dangerous neighbor. Now we are ready, in all possible ways, to help transforming our enemy image into that of a good neighbor for your country," the head of the Japanese delegation said in conclusion.

Silayev Receives Italian Foreign Minister

LD1009203791 Moscow TASS in English 1731 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—Ivan Silayev, the head of the Soviet Committee for the Management of the National Economy and the chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, received here today Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis.

The sides discussed aspects of the development of bilateral relations under new conditions.

Silayev informed Gianni de Michelis on measures taken by the Soviet Government to get the country out of the difficult political and economic situation.

"A new stage of development is now beginning here," said Silayev.

The top-priority task, according to the Russian prime minister, is the elaboration of an economic agreement, which would be supported by all the republics, including those that have refused to join the political union.

The Russian premier declared the Soviet adherence to previously reached agreements with other states, including Italy, and its readiness to follow the taken obligations in trade and the economy.

He informed the Italian foreign minister on the preparation of a program of the country's economic development that will take into account possibilities of European partners to render emergency aid to the Soviet Union.

The Italian minister expressed the hope that ways will be found to enable the expansion of cooperation between the two countries. In this connection he noted the wish to create a Soviet-Italian working group to elaborate measures to fulfil the previously offered Italian projects.

In a TASS interview upon the completion of the meeting, Gianni de Michelis noted that the relations between the Soviet Union and Italy has been good. The new situation has created opportunities to make them even better.

Italy Ready To Provide Credits

OW1109133391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0718 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Italy is ready to provide the USSR with 5 trillion lires ($3.85 billion) in credits "over the next few years," said the Italian Foreign Minister gianni de Michelis at his Tuesday meeting in Moscow with Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy. Silayev assured De Michelis that "the Soviet authorities are making every effort to service foreign loans."

Experts To 'Concretize' Russian-Polish Agreement

PM0609143391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by S. Mushkaterov: "Russia-Poland: Economic Agreement Signed"]

[Text] L. Balcerowicz, deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, has paid a brief visit to Moscow. He met with RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President B. Yeltsin, to whom he gave an invitation from L. Walesa to visit Poland, and also had intensive talks with I. Silayev and some other leaders of the Union Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy.

As was to be expected, the main theme of the talks was Poland's trade and economic relations with the USSR, on the one hand, and the RSFSR, on the other, relations which are going through a complex period now. Despite the acute lack of time, the sides signed an economic agreement between Poland and the RSFSR. Even though in many respects the document bears a general character, after further concretization it will enable trade and economic relations between Poland and the RSFSR to be considerably boosted. In addition, the sides agreed on quite broad means of resolving the payments problem, which, as is well known, is one of the most serious obstacles to the expansion of trade relations. At a press conference on Tuesday evening, L. Balcerowicz announced that groups of Polish and Russian experts will be working on concretizing the document in the next two weeks.

The Polish deputy prime minister also told journalists about those general economic questions which he discussed with Soviet representatives. In his words, the Soviet side is greatly interested in Poland's experience in the sphere of privatization, the creation of a capital

market, and the organization of various commodity exchanges. The Polish side is primarily interested in the concept of the single economic space. That is understandable. In connection with the decline in bilateral trade and economic relations, the Polish economy, formerly largely oriented toward the Soviet market, is suffering great losses. Poland is now trying to prepare a new "eastern" trade and economic policy. In this regard, L. Balcerowicz stressed that Poland remains interested in the Soviet market and is ready to increase supplies of food and consumer goods in exchange for raw materials and energy sources.

Yeltsin Invalidates Coup d'Etat Decrees

LD1009171491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1547 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 10 Sep (TASS)—RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President Boris Yeltsin has recognized his decrees, certain points in specific decrees and an instruction adopted at the time of the coup d'etat in the USSR on 19-21 August as no longer valid.

A decree of the Russian president distributed here today recognizes as invalid, inter alia, a number of points in his decree of 20 August "on the command of the USSR Armed Forces on the territory of the RSFSR in the conditions of the emergency situation", the decree "on the appointment of an RSFSR Minister of Defense", the decree "on the mass media of the RSFSR" which halted the appearance of a number of publications and also the decree "on the appointment of a military chief [glavnogo voyennogo nachalnika] for Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast".

The instruction of the RSFSR president "on the protection of and conditions of admission to the RSFSR House of Soviets" has also been revoked.

Khasbulatov Rules Out Left-Wing Coup

PM1009113891 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Single Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with R.I. Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic) Supreme Soviet, by correspondent Ye. Sorokin: "Ruslan Khasbulatov: I Do Not Think There Is a Real Danger of a Left-Wing Dictatorship"—place and date not given]

[Text] Since those three tragic August days when the country's fate was at stake, the attention paid to the Russian parliament has increased markedly. Now that the storm has passed, at least on the face of it, and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies has defined new paths for the Union's development, things have become no easier for the Russian parliamentarians. On the contrary, the freedom they have won has placed an enormous responsibility on the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. How will the intraparliamentary processes develop henceforth? Will Russia's elected representatives, having finally shaken off the center's diktat, be able to provide normal living conditions for Russia's people? These and many other topics are raised in the interview here offered to readers, conducted by PRAVDA's correspondent with R.I. Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

[Sorokin] Ruslan Imranovich, now that revolutionary euphoria is at its peak, there is talk of the need to punish all "visible and invisible enemies." Are we moving from the dictatorship of the partocracy to the dictatorship of the democrats?

[Khasbulatov] I do not think there is a real danger of a left-wing dictatorship. Of course, there have been some attempts to settle scores with the conservatives. But these are isolated episodes. Especially since there is no reason to celebrate victory to such an extent: The reactionary forces' fiercest attack was rebuffed. But experience shows that the reactionaries quickly rally their ranks, and obviously a new offensive must be expected.

Here is a very eloquent fact. In Tambov Oblast, by a decree of President B. Yeltsin, the ispolkom [soviet executive committee] chairman was dismissed for wrongful actions during the period of the putsch. But the oblast soviet has elected him its chairman. You see, such cynicism. And the democratic forces failed to give a rebuff. So that shows you the real correlation of forces in our society.

It is another matter that the opponents of reforms are scared now. And we must use this moment to implement more profound reforms, especially in the economic sphere. Our enormous production potential is lying there like a dead weight, failing to ensure the stability of the ruble. The consumer sector is weak. In order to strengthen it we must transform the entire economy and form enterprises operating as firms—state, joint-stock, and private firms. In this context it is necessary to carry out privatization in a very intelligent way, rather than allowing it to develop into all kinds of wild processes.

[Sorokin] What does the parliament intend to do in this respect?

[Khasbulatov] As you know, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session begins 19 September. We are doing much preparatory work in the committees and commissions with a view to submitting for parliament's consideration a major package of draft economic laws ensuring a profound economic reform of the national economy and the development of private farming. Incidentally, we already have some 30,000 peasant farms. But the majority of them are very small in capacity, they have no equipment or good land. It is time the leaders of agricultural enterprises realized that inefficient kolkhozes and sovkhozes must be turned into complexes of peasant farms. And after that they will, of course, enter into forms of cooperation and associations, as is customary throughout the world. I must say frankly that we will no longer allow the kind of resistance to private farming

that was offered by Starodubtsev and the other "generals" from the kolkhozes. We are planning substantially to modernize industry and make use of the defense complex. Of course, we will seek to attract foreign investments, which we expect will help us to put our industry on its feet, including machine building.

Our own entrepreneurs must also be supported, on condition, of course, that they earn their money honestly.

[Sorokin] Unfortunately, there are not all that many like that. Some of them are guided by the principle: grab it and run.

[Khasbulatov] Because they are afraid of the state, society, people. We must get used to the idea that rich people do a lot to benefit society, that we must create conditions in which they can invest capital in the development of the national economy, consumer goods, and services without fear of yet another expropriation.

As you can see, the tasks are so great that frankly there is no time to revel in victory, still less to engage in a "witch-hunt" and settle scores. We must now unite to resolve highly complex economic tasks. Of course, there must also be political reform and reorganization of local power. Presidential structures are currently being set up locally. But there are serious misgivings that this could once again turn into an increase in the apparatus, the political bureaucracy. Caution must be exercised here. Because when the apparatus increases, all creative, thinking activity is simply blocked. There are, alas, plenty of illustrations of this. Unfortunately, we are short of people with initiative.

[Sorokin] But you have yourself and the Supreme Soviet to blame for that. Remember how many people you allowed to be torn to pieces in the case of the 150 billion rubles, how many people were left unprotected. In parliament it sometimes reaches ludicrous proportions: The executive organs have been turned into scapegoats. Soon they will be asking I. Silayev for an explanation of the poor state of the public lavatories.

[Khasbulatov] Unfortunately, that is true. But you know how hard things sometimes are for us in the Supreme Soviet. On that occasion I had great difficulty in saving Minister V. Yaroshenko. The Supreme Soviet commission demanded that he be punished, and even that Silayev's government be disbanded. And all that ballyhoo ended by losing us deliveries of food and consumer goods worth many billions. Our extreme reactionary deputies and their obedient press caused a lot of trouble. I believe that PRAVDA acted very wisely by refusing to be drawn into this anti-Silayev campaign.

[Sorokin] All the same, much depends on the apparatus. In the new conditions, will it be able to work in a new way?

[Khasbulatov] That is of great concern to me. I raised this problem in PRAVDA back in 1986. Now Premier I. Silayev is doing a lot, and so are his deputies. But when things reach the level of deputy ministers and the government apparatus, everything gets stifled. Therefore, we must conduct a serious review of the apparatus structure and assess the capacities of the civil servants, on whom, unfortunately, a great deal depends.

[Sorokin] What effect do you think the decisions of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies will have on Russian life?

[Khasbulatov] This was in effect the last attempt to save the Union and preserve at least a minimum of ties—political, administrative, and organizational. The position Russia occupies is such that it is bound to wish for the Union to be preserved. Great progress was achieved at the Congress. The most important thing is that they succeeded in maintaining the process of movement toward a Union Treaty and a free political space, on the basis of which economic union can be discussed. It must be taken into account that one of the factors promoting the preservation of the Union is the nuclear missile forces, which should have a single command. Our energy system is unique in the world, and after all, that is the basis of the entire national economy. It unites all our republics into a single whole. And then there is railroad transport, ecology....

On the other hand, the republics' considerably increased rights will enable us to pursue our reforms at a faster pace and will free the Russian Government's hands. Naturally, this can only benefit the people of Russia. Especially since we have managed to choose very serious, strong people for the top echelons of power. They have put their ideological and political sympathies to one side, and set about doing what Western business people do—getting down to work, to business.

[Sorokin] Ruslan Imranovich, you said that the decisions of the latest Union Congress will emancipate both economic structures and power structures. But will this freedom for the republics not lead to their further isolation, the impoverishment of the people, and maybe even border conflicts?

[Khasbulatov] That is the main question. After all, freedom begins not with how comfortable the rulers feel, but with freedom of the individual. Our common state freedom should be directed toward the protection of people's interests. What difference does it make to me whether the republic is free or not if I, for instance, like before, have no freedom to engage in entrepreneurship, if I cannot live well? Real state freedom begins where the individual feels master of his own life, his own prosperity.

There are two paths to economic autonomy. The first is the duplication of Union ministries in Russia. But will that kind of autonomy mean freedom for the citizen, the working person? That is replacing one kind of diktat with another. Therefore we have chosen an entirely different path: We are giving the labor collectives full economic autonomy. The only regulator is taxation legislation, and

that is fairly generous. That means that there is not all that much tax revenue, and the state thus restricts itself both as regards defense and as regards increasing the state apparatus, the body of civil servants. A large part of the money stays with the labor collectives.

With this approach I hope we will recover from the breakdown of our industry. Because people will see that production is working for them, that everything now depends on their personal labor. By virtue of its enormous industrial might, population, and territory and by virtue of the radical reforms taking place here, Russia could become the driving force behind the progress of all the other republics.

[Sorokin] How do you see the future of the Union, especially after the USSR State Council's recognition of the independence of the Baltic republics? Can we expect the disintegration of the Union?

The general mood of many republics is that they want to be autonomous. I think in a few years time new incentives for unification will appear, and therefore our united Soviet Union should not be written off. The majority of our republics will probably join the Union: the ties are too firm—economic, cultural, political. These unifying processes, it seems to me, will strengthen as the economic situation improves. I think it is here that Russia will once again fulfill its historic mission.

We have very many good traditions and customs, they are genetically inherent in our peoples. However they were humiliated, however cruel the totalitarian system was, it could not stamp out the people's humanity, the underlying properties of the people's soul. The life of preceding generations cannot be erased from the people's memory like a code in a computer. The people's best traits were manifested during the days of the defense of the White House. This was a real international movement. Moscow itself is international. I think that once we start improving the economic situation, the people's confidence in the new authorities will grow.

[Sorokin] Forgive me for asking, but how long can we wait?

[Khasbulatov] We will have to wait a little while. But not, I think, so long as we have waited already. I am an optimist, I am confident that we now have very good opportunities to implement reforms and achieve results. We will stop wasting vast resources on the arms race, we will transfer a large part of the economy to consumer goods production, we will modernize this group of sectors. I think we will also quickly put to rights the production of agricultural produce. We are short of it because the agrarian infrastructure is weak: storage facilities, refrigeration, and so forth. Hence the enormous wastage.

[Sorokin] Ruslan Imranovich, we say that after the three days in August every one of us has become a different person. What has the Russian parliament become?

[Khasbulatov] The deputies behaved very worthily. They were ready to die to defend democracy. In those days quarrels and all the things that were disuniting us were forgotten.

[Sorokin] Are you not afraid that the question will again be heard: What did you do in 1917, or rather, in different terms—what did you do 19 August?

[Khasbulatov] That cannot be tolerated. It is no use threatening people, especially the Army. I am actually in favor of giving some people bonuses, dachas and cars, purely for not going to work. I proposed this to the deputies and they laughed. I realized from their reaction that they are far from thinking in terms of repressions. But those who were remiss must, of course, be removed. They must be "put" where they can do something useful without harming the common cause. After all, you have to think about our people's unhappy lot. When are we finally going to create a normal life for them? Our life is humiliating to the individual, to any society.

[Sorokin] Are you a member of the CPSU?

[Khasbulatov] I left the party during the days of the putsch.

[Sorokin] What do you think will now be the fate of the CPSU, and in particular the Russian Communist Party?

[Khasbulatov] The Russian Communist Party does not exist as a party: It was not registered separately, it declared itself part of the CPSU. The Russian Communist Party Central Committee took an extremely destructive, ruinous stance. The question of the CPSU is, of course, more complex. But its leaders were discredited by their virtually total participation in this plot. It was the finish, so to speak, the final degradation of all principles. A colossal blow was thereby struck against the communist idea itself. I think that in these conditions the greatest vitality was displayed only by the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia. This current within the party, it seems to me, could save both the socialist idea and the party itself. It is a historical paradox: The party will be saved by someone who was expelled from it.

This current could offer hope to those who would like to remain in the Communist Party. I see no alternative.

In conclusion I would like to wish the new PRAVDA success. I hope we will continue to cooperate actively, as we did before. A balanced position on the part of the newspaper will help to stabilize the situation, and we will always support that.

Democratic Party's Lipitskiy Interviewed on Aims

PM1009145591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Interview with V.S. Lipitskiy of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia, by N. Kozhanov: "Will There Be

Legal Communists in the Country?"; first paragraph is introduction—place and date not given]

[Text] The day before yesterday PRAVDA published a brief report by the INTERFAX agency on the registration of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia [DPCR] at the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of Justice. The editorial office was immediately inundated with questions which we asked V.S. Lipitskiy, one of the leaders of the new party's board, to answer.

[Kozhanov] In the first place, Vasiliy Semenovich, readers asked me to convey their congratulations on the registration of the DPCR, which the editorial office echoes. Second, some were bewildered by the name. It was reported that, following the well-known events of 19-21 August, your party's board had decided to recommend a new name to the upcoming party congress—"Party of Free Russia."

[Lipitskiy] Thank you for the congratulations. As for the name, we actually are going to propose a change. But the documents adopted by the constituent conference had been sent for registration. Only the congress, which takes place in late October and early November, has the right to amend them. What it decides goes.

[Kozhanov] But I think one can already talk about a general party orientation, about tasks and aims.

[Lipitskiy] They are well known and are enshrined in the statutes. I believe the overall position will remain unchanged—we will be a left-wing, democratic parliamentary party, assisting radical reforms in Russia in order to improve people's well-being, safeguard human rights and freedoms, and create an effective market economy and rule-of-law state.

[Kozhanov] What kind of organizational structures will you have?

[Lipitskiy] Organizations are being established according to territorial, professional, and functional principles.

[Kozhanov] What does the last mean?

[Lipitskiy] It is the creation of temporary organizations or their associations to solve specific tasks in a region or in a republic as a whole. For example, to conduct election campaigns, referendums, or other actions that require concentration and coordination of effort.

[Kozhanov] But what about cells at enterprises and in institutions?

[Lipitskiy] We will strictly observe the law on departyization.

[Kozhanov] Another matter readers are particularly interested in. In your view, what kind of relationship might there be between your party and the Russian Communist Party, if it is revived and legalized? People point out that one of the party's latest acts was to expel V. Lipitskiy and A. Rutskoy.

[Lipitskiy] It was not the party that expelled us. As for the relationship, it will all depend on positions. We are firmly in favor of pluralism of beliefs, including communist, and of a multiparty system. If, say, the new Russian Communist Party's positions in some way coincide with or are close to ours, then why not cooperate and try to jointly implement particular aims?

[Kozhanov] If a former Russian Communist Party member applies for membership of your party, could he expect to be considered?

[Lipitskiy] Certainly. There was one delicate situation, though. After the Russian Communist Party's activities were suspended by the well-known decree, some of its structures, right down to rayon and city organizations, expressed a wish to join our party en bloc. But that is unacceptable. Our statutes firmly state the principle that only individuals are admitted. Otherwise you might have the same absurd situation as occurred when the Russian Communist Party was created: Yesterday a person was a member of the CPSU, in the morning he woke up to find he was now in the Russian Communist Party, although he had written no aplication and had expressed no intention to join.

[Kozhanov] Finally, your party's relations with related organizations in other republics.

[Lipitskiy] Mutual interest, exchange of experience, a quest for ways to possibly cooperate in the solution of common political, ethnic, and social problems. But I hope the congress will provide more detailed and exact information about our party.

Reports on 'Democratic Russia' Movement

'Democratic Ossetia' Founded

LD0709174491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1458 GMT 7 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 7 Sep (TASS)—The inaugural conference of the "Democratic Ossetia" movement was held here today. The new movement has become part of "Democratic Russia." The conference adopted a constitution and a program statement. The documents are based on the idea of consolidating all the healthy forces of perestroyka and of civil peace and harmony among the citizens of the 90 nationalities and ethnic groups living in the region. The conference achieved its aim of uniting under one flag all political parties, movements, and public organizations of a democratic nature operating in the republic.

Ryzhkov Views Congress Actions

OW0509204691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] One of the leaders of the Democratic Russia movement, Dr. Yuri Afanasyev, told journalists after the adoption by the Congress of People's Deputies of a law on government reform on Thursday that "the congress passed away—and not by dissolving itself in a dignified manner, but ignominiously, like a drowning man." At the same time, Dr. Afanasyev welcomed the fact that "in spite of its conservatism and servility the congress did pay attention to the serious changes that had taken place, and acted sensibly."

Ex-Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov said he was quite satisfied with the congress's performance, since "I don't think there's a better way out of the present difficulties." On the future of the Baltic republics, Mr. Ryzhkov said it was a practically settled matter, since "already today they have full-fledged political independence." The ex-premier ruled out the possibility of another coup d'etat but warned that a cold and hungry winter—which he described as a very likely prospect—might trigger "a commonplace Russian revolt."

Reports on Situation in Chechen-Ingush

Rallies Continue; Resignations Sought

PM0909124391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Ali Kazikhanov: "Situation in Chechen-Ingushetia Normalizes"]

[Text] Groznyy—The republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs has reported that the operational situation in the capital of Chechen-Ingushetia is normal. A rally continues on Freedom Square. Those present are calling for the resignation of the entire Chechen-Ingush Government.

The interim committee set up in place of the Chechen-Ingush Supreme Soviet—which has virtually ceased to exist—has embarked on lawmaking activity: The committee is currently drawing up acts on the introduction of a presidency, laws on elections to the Chechen-Ingush Supreme Soviet, on citizenship, and so forth, and a draft new constitution.

The first candidate has been nominated for Chechen-Ingush president—Khadzhiyev, a Union minister and USSR people's deputy. Chechen-Ingush Supreme Soviet People's Deputy V. Kutsenko (until recently mayor of Groznyy) has died in the hospital: During the attack [shturm] V. Kutsenko jumped from a second-story window.

Zavgayev on Demands To Resign

PM0909102391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by special correspondent S. Bartnikas: "Groznyy: Is Moscow Not Behind Us, Guys?"]

[Text] A piece of paper pasted to a store window. Two arrows, pointing left and right. The blue arrow is marked "The People." The other arrow is red and says "Remnants of the CPSU."

I headed for the "Remnants of the CPSU," in other words, for the House of Political Enlightenment, which is where the republic's government, Supreme Soviet, and its chairman now are.

The Chechen-Ingush people's deputies who had met in Moscow with Russia's leadership and president came here yesterday. According to one of the deputies, the opinions expressed by Russia's leaders were varied. For instance, Ruslan Khasbulatov advised the chairman of the Chechen-Ingush parliament to resign, believing that that would settle the situation.

The chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet also addressed the assembled company in the large lecture hall at the House of Political Enlightenment.

In the recess I managed to interview D. Zavgayev, whose resignation is being sought by the people on Freedom Square:

[Bartnikas] The other day on Television News Service you said that an illegal rally was being held in Groznyy, thereby causing a storm of indignation among the rally participants....

[Zavgayev] What the Chechen Congress Executive Committee is demanding is indeed illegal. The question of my recall can be raised only if I violate the constitution. The Supreme Soviet alone can remove me. I have twice proposed that it do this, and it has twice shown trust in me. Anyhow, my resignation would not lead to stability. It would merely prompt the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet. There are intelligent people among the executive committee activists, but I have misgivings about their aims. They want to create a Chechen republic, which means that all the other nationalities do not count....

[Bartnikas] You said that the events are organized by Moscow....

[Zavgayev] I have grounds for doing so. For instance, the radio reports of the seizure of the TV center and the mutiny in one colony came before the events. The mutiny and the seizure happened later.

[Bartnikas] There has been a coup in the republic. You have been removed from power. What are you hoping for?

[Zavgayev] I would describe this as a coup attempt, but I would not say whether it is left-wing or right-wing. I

have not been removed from power. The Supreme Soviet is working. Moreover, we have had and we still do have the possibility of dispersing the rally by force, but we are not doing this.

[Bartnikas] Here is a question that I have also put to your opponents. The rally is continuing. The situation remains tense. The demands remain the same. What is the solution?

[Zavgayev] I think good sense will prevail. We are now holding constant talks with the opposition and some of its demands have been met. The Supreme Soviet Presidium has been dissolved.

Stop Press

The protestors in Freedom Square have seized the House of Political Enlightenment. People on the square reported that D. Zavgayev, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, has resigned.

Zavgayev Remains 'In Control'

LD1009180291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Zavgayev chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Chechen Ingushetiya, has announced the following: He did not give an official statement on resigning from his post, and reserves this right for himself. I am in control of the situation, as before, and am exercising leadership in the republic, Zavgayev told TASS correspondents in a telephone conversation. It is true that he did not define in what manner he is exercising this leadership. At present, he is staying with relatives in one of the mountainous villages of the republic.

'Political Crisis' Continues

LD1009224691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Video report from Groznyy by correspondent N. Shebalkov—from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] In many areas of the country the struggle for democracy, which sometimes assumes threatening forms, is continuing.

[Shebalkov] Mass meetings in Groznyy have been following one after the other, three weeks running. During this time both the city's main square and the building of the republic's Council of Ministers have remained blockaded. The political crisis has reached the highest degree of acuteness. Participants in the mass meetings are trying to achieve immediate democratic reforms.

Some of the day's most important news has been printed in the first issues of the new nationwide independent newspaper SVOBODA, which publishes detailed reports on today's events in the republic. Registration of volunteers in the national guard is continuing. There are already hundreds of young people in its ranks. A republican committee for drawing up the main legislative acts and the state system of the Checheno-Ingushetia has been formed.

[Z. Yandarbiyev, chairman of the Vaynakh Democratic Party—caption] The people, who after two weeks of waiting were getting desperate, were forced to dissolve this Supreme Soviet themselves. Today the matter of the parliament has in fact been resolved: It has been dissolved. But people are now standing around. This mass meeting is continuing as support, or as protection, for what has been achieved.

Republican Guard To Maintain Order

LD1009220591 Moscow TASS in English 2131 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents]

[Text] Groznyy September 11 TASS—The enlistment into a Republican Guard is proceeding in the centre of the capital of the Chechen-Ingush Republic. Guardsmen are accountable to the Executive Committee of the Congress of the Chechen people. The Congress is now one of the most influential political forces in the republic, Magomed Magomayev, chief of staff of the Republican Guard, told TASS.

He sees the principal function of the Guard in maintaining the public order in the republic.

Magomayev declined to disclose the number of volunteers who have already enlisted, saying only that men aged from 18 to 50 are admitted.

Today TASS correspondents visited the hospital where Vitaliy Kutsenko, a people's deputy of the republic and former chairman of the Groznyy City Council, had been rushed.

News media had reported his death on September 6 when the Parliament of the Chechen-Ingush Republic was being dissolved by insurrectional forces.

Musa Akhmadov, the hospital's head physician, said the patient, who had been brought to the hospital with a craniocerebral injury and a fracture of the collar bone, is in serious condition.

According to people's deputies, who are colleagues of Kutsenko, he threw himself out of a first-floor window.

Burbulis To Head Council Visit

LD1009215991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 2015 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow: In connection with the extraordinary situation which has taken shape in Chechen-Ingush and the threat of an armed conflict which could spread to the whole region, a State Council delegation is departing by air for Groznyy this evening.

Gennadiy Burbulis, Russia's secretary of state, who will head the delegation, reported this at a meeting with RSFSR's people's deputies.

Union of Soviet Germans Set Up in Moscow

LD0709103691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] The setting up of the Union of Soviet Germans has been announced in Moscow. This new public organization sees its task in restoring statehood to Soviet Germans. Their autonomy in the Volga area was eliminated on Stalin's order in 1941 and the nation was deported from their historic motherland.

Now, Soviet Germans are reviving their traditions and culture. However, the restoration of their autonomy in the Volga area is delayed and became the cause for their mass emigration to Federal Germany.

Transfer of CPSU Property to Maritime Kray

Committee Adopts Decision

LD0709061191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2200 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Summary] The Maritime Kray Executive Committee has adopted an instruction on the transfer of CPSU property to state bodies.

Vladivostok Opposes Transfer

LD0809063491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1630 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Leaders of the Vladivostok City Soviet have demanded the repeal of a ruling by the Maritime Kray soviet transferring CPSU assets to local state authorities. In a letter sent to the kray leadership and law enforcement bodies, they express their total rejection of the transfer of party committees' assets within the city limits to the control of the kray executive committee. In their opinion, the buildings being vacated should be used for the benefit of the city, rather than the expanding administrative structures.

Reports on Republican Economic Issues, Proposals

Minister Saburov Details Plan

LD1009195591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1415 GMT 8 Sep 91

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Text] The main feature in tomorrow's edition of KOMMERSANT is the plan drawn up by RSFSR Economic Minister Yevgeniy Saburov to organize an economic system. This is the plan that will have to compete with those of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy and Stanislav Shatalin. It stresses in particular that it is in all the parties best interest to coordinate economic policy in privatizing state-owned assets' especially what used to be Union assets—to align their economic legislation, to achieve stable monetary circulation and to open up their national economies and gradually integrate them into the world economic community.

Regarding financial policy, it is essential to draw up a precise procedure for joint decision-making and for clear accountability in the apportionment and use of monies from foreign loans, credits, and aid. Regarding scientific, technical and structural policy, [the plan] notes the desirability of setting up a common fund for basic research. If the republics are to exercise their economic sovereignty over natural resources, they will need to reform the way that such resources are put to use: This will principally entail charging fees for their exploitation, and levying fines for environment pollution. It is essential, the plan stresses, that the signatories to the agreement pursue a social policy based on coordinated action to develop and implement interstate social plans.

Let met remind you that Yevgeniy Saburov's plan is published in KOMMERSANT.

Economic Adviser on Reform

PM0609092891 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 3 Sep 91 p 5

[Interview with Mikhail Bocharov, head of the Russian Government's Higher Council on Economic Reform, by Jolanda Bufalini; place and date not given]

[Text] Moscow—Mikhail Bocharov is head of the Russian Government's Higher Council on Economic Reform. He is one of Yeltsin's economic advisers. After the first afternoon sitting of the congress, at which a succession of republic representatives spoke, he emerged into the great atrium looking happy. We asked him why.

[Bufalini] Apart from being a Union deputy, you are also a Russian parliamentarian; can you give me your assessment of the 10-plus-one document from this latter viewpoint, too?

[Bocharov] Equal representation in forming the new bodies for the transition period seems to me personally, as a Russian federation deputy, to be a measure prejudicial to Russia's rights. In my opinion, we could have a one-day break to work on this, collating it with the constitution.

[Bufalini] What shortcomings do you identify in the statement?

[Bocharov] Scanty preparation and haste. The document was not distributed in time; and every deputy—no matter what his orientation and color: red, white, or green—needs to act on the basis of the best information.

[Bufalini] You said that insufficient account is taken of Russia's interests. Why?

[Bocharov] For instance, the Ukrainian delegation put forward—in Kravchuk's speech—the suggestion, or even

the intention, of introducing its own currency. If we are now talking about an economic dimension, our ideas must be very clear: Either we have a single currency or we decide to have 15 different currencies—but in that case, why not 30? There are other issues such as UN membership, which entails for every republic the payment of a certain contribution—in dollars, of course. Are the republics really able to pay in hard currency? Moreover, since the Union has so many debts to pay off, there is a pressing need to tackle this situation first. The financial and credit system must be common. There us no other solution.

[Bufalini] The Ukraine argues, however, that its ruble is better "covered" by goods.

[Bocharov] Pardon me, but the Russian ruble is even better covered. So Russia could decide to close its borders, introduce world prices, and trade with the Ukraine itself on this basis. I do not think that would be very advantageous to the Ukraine. But Russia is not making such a decision because it also has a responsibility to 25 million Russians living in the other republics. We must ponder this, too. So at the present stage the economic dimension must be the same for everyone. I support the principle of the EEC which has long been moving toward a common economic system. One of the EC's problems is precisely how to find a single currency, whereas we already have the ruble.

[Bufalini] In other words, do you mean that political independence must be coupled with close economic cooperation?

[Bocharov] Yes, a combination of political independence with a powerful economic space. If we take any other path, we will not succeed in averting conflicts between ethnic groups and nationalities. The fact is that if a republic introduces its own currency, it automatically closes its borders. This means that relations between us should immediately be established as relations between foreign states. So hasty statements to this effect are a political mistake.

Officials Discuss Status of Ruble

Minister Pledges Convertibility

OW0709182491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "No matter how hard and painful the move will be, the ruble will be made convertible in 1992, although I cannot give you a precise date now," said Yevgeniy Saburov, the Russian Republic's minister of the economy. He made the announcement on Saturday at the closing session of the World Economic Forum, which had drawn some 150 top Western businessmen and economists to Moscow to discuss problems faced by the USSR as it struggles to move to a market economy. Saburov warned that shortages of food and energy supplies were the main problems facing the USSR during the coming winter and he pleaded for more humanitarian aid from the West.

At the same meeting, Ivan Silayev, RSFSR prime minister and chairman of the Committee for Operational Management of the National Economy, said that the biggest obstacle on the Soviet Union's path to a market economy was "the psychology of the Soviet people. We will have to make strenuous efforts to change their way of thinking, he added. [no closing quotation marks as received]

Ex-Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze warned that extreme economic hardship could be exploited by demagogues, and that such a situation would pose a serious threat to democracy in the USSR.

On Friday, Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the League of Scientific and Industrial Associations had called for the immediate reinstatement of the clearing system as a vehicle for trade between the USSR and the former Comecon countries. (In January of 1991, the USSR had ruled that all trade with Eastern Europe should henceforth by denominated in hard currency, with prices reflecting world levels.) "The result of this decision," he said, "is that factories both in the USSR and in neighbouring countries are standing idle. Neither party has hard currency, to begin with, and it is ridiculous to price the products of such factories at world levels, when often they do not even meet minumum international standards, Volskiy said."

Central Bank Proposes 'Ruble Zone'

OW0809223791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2040 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's Central Bank, which sets banking policy on Russian territory, has proposed the creation of a "ruble zone"—a zone in which the ruble would be the chief instrument of payment. Top executives of central republican banks are to arrive in Moscow on Tuesday to discuss this project.

Under Russia's draft project, distributed to the USSR State Bank and the republican central banks, it is planned to create an Inter-Bank Union (IBU) with the republics which favor the continued existence of a common monetary system. The USSR State Bank will be responsible for regulating the credit and financial system. The State Bank itself will become a joint stock company and its shares will be distributed among participants in the future IBU. The Union's governing body will be board of directors comprising the chairmen of the republican central banks. The board will elect a chairman who will serve for a specific number of years.

IF [INTERFAX] learned that the officials of Russia's Central Bank "do not believe that it is necessary' for the

incumbent board chairman of the USSR State Bank, Victor Gerashchenko, to serve on the governing bodies of the future Union.

Ruble Registers Drop

OW1109135291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0718 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday, September 10th, the latest regular day of trading at the USSR State Bank's currency exchange, the ruble registered a slight drop against the dollar, to 55.0 for $1, from the previous week. On September 4, a dollar went for 52.2 rubles and on August 28, for 51.0 rubles at the central Soviet currency exchange.

On September 10 the quantity of dollars on offer was $4.07 million—in the face of demand for $7.11 million.

The volume of sales between the banks authorized to conduct foreign-exchange operations—without the mediation of the Currency Exchange—was $1.579 million with $1 going for 50.85 rubles.

Unemployment Rising in St Petersburg

OW0909133991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The labor and employment committee of St. Petersburg's mayoralty reports that on September 6 the number of officially registered unemployed in the city made up 12,941 people. Only 1,827 of them are entitled to unemployment relief.

According to committee experts, unemployment in St. Petersburg "is steadily on the rise."

Yeltsin, USSR Culture Minister Hold Talks

LD0609024491 Moscow TASS in English 1555 GMT 5 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Anna Tatarinova]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin on Thursday supported the drive to preserve a single body for coordinating efforts to protect the country's cultural heritage.

At a meeting with heads of republics' ministries of culture at the Russian parliament building, Yeltsin described cooperation between representatives of national cultures as fruitful. At the beginning of the year, they set up a Union council under the Soviet Ministry of Culture to coordinate cooperation in solving mutual strategic tasks and ensure republics' independence in developing national cultures.

Yeltsin believes this may be a good example to follow by republics in other fields.

He supported the idea to open republics' cultural centres in Moscow. Georgia has already opened its centre in the Soviet capital.

"Despite economic hardships, Russia plans to boost its subsidies for culture next year," the president said.

"We should not lose spiritual ties that have been formed over decades. We should also preserve as people's heritage national cultural values, which were created by people of different nationalities," Polad Bul-Bul Ogly, Azerbaijani minister of culture said.

"Culture is the thing that unites our peoples and we should never break this tie. That's why special attention should be paid to the implementation of a programme of inter-ethnic cultural communication," Kanat Saudabayev, head of the Kazakh committee for culture, said.

More on Talks

LD0809042491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1505 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] The other day, Russian President Boris Yeltsin had a meeting with the culture ministers of the republics, at which there was discussion of the notorious three kopecks per capita which our generous state allocates to the cultural education of its citizens. Our correspondent, Nikolay Artemyev, asked what USSR Culture Minister Nikolay Gubenko, minister of a Union that barely exists, thinks about this.

[Begin Gubenko recording] One can say with all assurance that Boris Nikolayevich is doing everything possible, as far as Russian culture is concerned, to see that the budget is considerably bigger next year. As for the Union structures, this will evidently depend to a great degree upon the State Council, which will have to decide the question of financing the joint programs that we are drawing up and where we are determining the priorities within the three kopecks allocated—that was the sum allocated this year, 138 million rubles. Next year the sum projected for us is 198 million rubles, because the problem is a common one. What is included in these programs, for instance, the Chernobyl culture program? It includes the concomitant problems such as Semipalatinsk and Aral. There is also interethnic exchange. These demand huge spending. If the guarantees which were engendered right here alongside this building, gained by the blood of the people, by the courage of Russia, if these guarantees enable us to reduce the army in the near future, then I hope that a part of those funds may be earmarked for culture, so the culture budget will be increased. In general, I think that after this meeting, I am very happy. [end recording]

Silayev Denies Plans To Cut Social Programs

PM0909193091 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 10 Sep 91 p 1

[Interview with Russian Premier Ivan Silayev by correspondent Aleksandr Krotkov at 6 September press conference, plus Krotkov commentary: "Prices Will Soar. What About Wages?"]

[Text] Ivan Silayev, premier of Russia and de facto premier of the country, answering our correspondent's question, does not promise us easy gain.

[Krotkov] Ivan Stepanovich, nobody is disputing that the dire situation in the country's economy prevents us from being too lavish in adopting social programs. But when Yevgeniy Saburov, Russian minister of the economy, announces a possible freeze and even curtailment of such programs, when he says that the introduction of indexation of the population's income will lead to hyperinflation and is therefore undesirable, this is bound to cause concern. Tell me, how "tightly" does the republic government intend to "pull in our belts"?

[Silayev] First of all I must state that I am not familiar with Saburov's remark about curtailing social programs. On the contrary, he is one of the coauthors of the Russian economic program, which includes an extensive package of social measures. I have heard that Saburov said something different: If we extend 100-percent compensation to all strata of the population, that will lead to hyperinflation. Consequently we must give full protection only to the least well-off strata. As the incomes of other groups of people rise, so state compensation should be reduced. This approach is dictated by elementary logic as well as universal world practice.

I would venture to assure you that we have no intention of curtailing social programs. On the contrary, some people have a burning desire to extract as much as possible for new social programs from the budget's imaginary resources.

In my view, citizens' well-being must be increased not by endlessly increasing funds for, say, doubling people's leave or giving them a very short working week. I recall that when the republic Supreme Soviet adopted the decision on leave, we came out against it. It is necessary to show sense and restraint, first giving the market mechanism the opportunity to start working at full speed, and waiting until it starts to bear good fruit. [Silayev ends]

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA Commentary

The Russian premier's answer could be regarded as highly satisfactory if the circumstances in which this answer was given were ignored. But, let me explain, it was at a press conference held on Friday 6 September immediately after Ivan Stepanovich's two-hour meeting with Russia's business circles. A meeting which was preceded by a large-scale attack by our country's businessmen demanding immediate liberalization of legislation which is still hampering the free development of market relations in the country.

And, by all appearances, they got their way. Not only did Silayev state publicly that in his view it is entrepreneurs who will save the Russian economy, and that "the government's main task is not to hinder them, but to create favorable conditions for their work—naturally within the framework of the law." He reaffirmed his readiness to repeal on RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] territory a whole package of "barbaric" laws, resolutions, and decrees—including decrees of the USSR president. The Congress of Business People of Russia is to present a list of them to the republic Council of Ministers within a month. It can already be assumed that this list will include documents giving the KGB and MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] the right to search business people's offices without the authorization of the prosecutor.

But there is reason to suppose that this will not be the end of the matter. Thus, M. Alekhin, RSFSR deputy minister of the economy, speaking the other day about the principles that are necessary in order to create a single economic space, stated that "prices should for the most part be free, that is, market prices," but "wages should be regulated." Alekhin did not notice that he was contradicting himself. Because wages, if you think about it, are only the price of manpower, and in market conditions are entitled to be free just like the price of any other commodity.

I do not think the esteemed deputy minister of the economy was ignorant of such things. It cannot be ruled out that another factor was at work: The Russian Council of Ministers is now running the risk of falling seriously under the influence of businessmen who seek to get hold of the biggest possible proportion of the added value created by the workers. Talk of regulated wages combined with free prices is music to their ears, as is the principle of partial compensation for price rises.

Incidentally, on 1 February this year at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session it was none other than Ivan Silayev who stressed that prior to the reform of retail prices it is necessary to adopt a law on indexation of the population's income in proportion to price increases. Please note, at that time they were talking about indexation, not, as now, partial compensation.

Russian Parliament on Georgian Human Rights Abuses

LD0909165791 Moscow TASS in English 1635 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 9 TASS—"We are concerned over the fact that the processes taking place in the Republic of Georgia of late, including those on the territory of Abkhaziya and South Ossetia and, in recent days in Tbilisi as well, do not fit the civilised notions of the observance of human rights, including the rights of

ethnic minorities, and of their guarantees", the Russian Federation parliament's committees for human rights and international affairs and the subcommittee for inter-republican relations point out in a statement issued here today.

"It is particularly deplorable that the above-mentioned events are developing against the background and on the threshold of holding widely-representative international human rights forums in Moscow and against the backdrop of the president of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan's initiative concerning the need to conclude an inter-state convention on guarantees of the rights of ethnic minorities.

"We have particular misgivings about the fact that Mr. Gamsakhurdiya, president of the Republic of Georgia, not always correctly appeals to the name and authority of President Boris N. Yeltsin of the Russian Federation.

"We consider it our duty to recall that the observance of the guarantees of human rights in accordance with the norms of international law are not an internal affair of this or that state.

"Consequently, our statement from the very beginning cannot be interpreted as an interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Georgia, the sovereignty of which we indubitably respect.

"In addition, by virtue of geographical peculiarities, violations of the rights of ethnic minorities in the Republic of Georgia complicate the internal situation in contiguous territories of the Russian Federation. Thereby, such actions from the very outset have a pronounced inter-state aspect.

"We believe that in order to improve the human rights situation it would be advisable to set up permanently functioning observation posts, manned by deputies of the Russian Federation and the USSR, elected from the Russian Federation, and deputies from the Republic of Georgia—after the pattern of similar structures that have already been established in a number of areas of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

"In the event of further deterioration of the situation, the introduction of a state-of-emergency regime in all conflict-ridden zones should be thought out", the statement reads.

Belorussia

Parliament Schedules Extraordinary Session

OW1009172191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet decided on Tuesday that an extraordinary session of the republic's parliament will open on September 17.

The agenda will include the election of a Supreme Soviet head (the post has been vacant since Nikolay Dementey's resignation) and a chairman of the Central Electoral Commission whose post is vacant too.

The Belorussian parliament is expected to discuss a package of defense and security-related issues, such as setting up a national guard and other structures capable of safeguarding Belorussia's independence.

Among the other topics for discussion will be a state coat-of- arms, a national anthem, and a new name for the republic. IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent reports the parliamentary opposition is insisting that Belorussia be renamed the Republic of Belarus.

Deputies Demand Parliament Reconvene

PM1109080191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Nikolay Matukovskiy report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Will There Be An Extraordinary Session?"]

[Text] Minsk— The group of Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet deputies taking part in the work of the All-Union Congress of People's Deputies has called for the immediate convening of an extraordinary session of the Belorussian parliament.

This is demanded by the alarming situation that has developed in the republic. A slump of 12 to 15 percent in production is expected by the end of the year. A similar slump is forecast for next year too. All the old economic ties have fallen apart while new ones have yet to form. Tractor and automotive plants and the entire machine-tool sector are under threat from the situation produced as a result of interruptions to the supply of raw materials. A particularly difficult situation in the economy has been caused by the disruption of supplies from the Ukraine.

Examination of the situation prevailing in the republic and the immediate adoption of measures to rescue the economy from catastrophe are the demand of the deputies' initiative group in convening an extraordinary emergency session of the republic parliament. All the USSR people's deputies representing Belorussia and dozens of Belorussian parliamentarians have joined in the appeal.

Deputies Support Non-Nuclear Republic Military

LD1009172791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] A collegium of the Ministry of Defense of the USSR will take place on 19 September: Military Doctrine and the Fate of the Armed Forces of the Former Union. Such is the proposed theme of that session.

Today, Defense Minister Shaposhnikov, will consult on these problems with representatives of the republics.

Our correspondent Maksim Taburon in Minsk reports:

[Taburon] On 9 September, in the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussia SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], there was as meeting of people's deputies, representatives of the Belorussian military district, the customs service of the republic and leaders of the border troops deployed on the territory of Belorussia. The composition of the group that will take part in the meeting on the question of the further policy was discussed there. As you know, Defense Minister Shaposhnikov on 10 September will convene a council of deputies of the republics.

What will the representatives of Belorussia go to Moscow with? As Belorussian People's Deputy Vladimir (?Zablotskiy) said in a conversation with our correspondent, all the participants in the conference agree that there is a need to create the republic's armed forces. As Lieutenant-General (?Yakushev), a representative of the Belorussian militiary district, said, there can be no sovereignty with an army. Obviously, Belorussia will acquire soon self-defense forces, all the more so because our neighbors have taken that path already and experiments to guarantee the sovereignty of the republics from the center have frequently ended in bloodshed.

The members of the Belorussian delegation also recognize the need for concluding as soon as possible agreements on all property questions. After all, the upkeep of the armed forces on the territory of Belorussia costs 7 billion rubles, not counting the expenditure on aviation and rocket troops. As a sum, this military expenditure exceeds by 1.5 times the budget of the republic. In this situation, it is simply not realistic to take the troops of the district under the republic's administration. The Belorussian delegation will support, obviously, the idea of the creation of a NATO-type military bloc of the republics of the former union. In the long term, Deputy Vladimir Zablotskiy said we see Belorussia as a neutral nuclear-free state with armed forces, small in number.

No Assessment on Individuals' Actions in Coup

PM1109075991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Untitled report by Mikhail Shimanskiy under the "Direct Line" rubric]

[Text] Minsk—"We will not be assessing the activity of individual citizens during the coup d'etat," I. Pyrkh,

chairman of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet provisional commission for assessing the activity of members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency and of sociopolitical formations, organs of state power, leadership, officials, and citizens who supported them, stated at a press conference. "The main point is to avoid a repetition of the 1930's, which is what the republic's inhabitants have been warning against in their communications to the commission."

Ukraine

Kravchuk Cited on Nationalities in Republic

LD1109003691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] In the Ukraine there is no division between Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians, nor will there be. The main thing still is how each individual defends the interests of the land on which he lives, the interests of all people on that land. Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Kravchuk said this today at a meeting with representatives of ethnic cultural societies in the republic. The head of the republican parliament stressed that this is the policy that will continue to be followed in the future. This is confirmed by the fact that following the proclamation of Ukrainian independence, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet elected ethnic Russians to such key posts as minister of defense and the procurator general of the Ukraine.

Kravchuk Receives Canadian Foreign Minister

LD1109044891 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0000 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] A Canadian delegation has arrived in Kiev. It is headed by the foreign minister of Canada, Barbara McDougall. Today she was received by the chairman of the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet, Leonid Kravchuk. The two leaders discussed the opportunities for the further development of Ukrainian-Canadian relations at all levels. Leonid Kravchuk in particular said the following:

We have every ground to expect that our relations will develop and deepen, says Leonid Kravchuk. It so happened that our great holiday, the proclamation of Ukraine's independence on 24th August, coincided in time with yet another holiday, the centenary of the Ukrainian emigration to Canada and other countries. We are glad that Ukrainians living in Canada exert the maximum efforts so as to work most efficiently together with the peoples of other nationalities living in Canada. This is why I am glad that we have an opportunity to communicate today. I am sure this holiday will be a great event not only for the Ukrainians in Canada, but all Ukrainians no matter where they live in the world, said Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of Ukraine's Parliament.

Foreign Minister Zlenko on Upcoming UN Session

LD1109022991 Moscow TASS in English 2059 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Sergey Bibki]

[Text] Kiev September 10 TASS—The Ukraine is a member of the United Nations Organisation and, it means, a recognised subject of international law. Therefore there can be no question of a recognition plea for the republic with a population of 52 million following the proclamation of an act of independence by it, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko told a news conference here today.

He pointed out, in particular, that the Ukraine would raise the question of establishing diplomatic relations on the strength of recognition it has on the part of the world community.

Speaking about a Ukrainian delegation's forthcoming trip to attend the 46th session of the U.N. General Assembly, Zlenko said the principal aim facing the delegation, to be led by him, would be as far as possible to enlist the efforts of the world body to get guarantees of sovereignty and consolidation of the Ukraine's international status.

Ukrainian delegates will also work to establish and deepen bilateral relations with representatives of 23 countries that have been referred to as priorities for the Ukraine for now.

In addition, the minister intends to discuss with representatives of leading European countries the question of including the Ukraine in the all-European process with due regard for the republic's newly gained status.

Troop Movements Banned on Republic Territory

OW1009154191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has banned any troop movement on the republic's territory, unless it has been authorized by the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers.

The Presidium's resolution says sending troops from other republics to the Ukraine will, too, have to be coordinated vith the republican government.

Mayor Rejects Yeltsin's Claim to Nuclear Weapons

LD1109082791 Moscow TASS in English 0657 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Kiev September 11 UKRINFORM-TASS—Lvov Mayor Vyacheslav Chornovil running for the Ukraine's presidency, has denounced Russian President Boris Yeltsin's wish to concentrate all Soviet nuclear weapons on Russian territory.

Yeltsin put forward the proposal during a telecast with the United States last Friday.

"First, we confirm our adherence to the intention to become a nuclear-free state stated in the Ukraine's declaration of state sovereignty," reads Chornovil's statement distributed here on Tuesday.

"At the same time, there is no doubt the independent Ukraine is a legal successor of all material and technical resources, including the former Soviet Union's weapons, like Russia, Kazakhstan and other republics," Chornovil said.

"The way the question is put is strange, as one state has to transfer its nuclear potential to another," Chornovil said.

"The issue of forming the Ukraine's armed forces, which is connected with nuclear weapons, should be resolved by means of agreements between nuclear states. This is the road the Ukraine will follow towards a step-by-step and full liquidation of its nuclear potential," Chornovil said.

"The fact that there are nuclear weapons in the Ukraine and the wish to make the republic a nuclear-free state as soon as possible will boost forming the republic's nuclear-free armed forces and the world's recognition of the Ukraine, a U.N. founding member, as an independent state and a full-fledged subject of the international law," Chornovil said.

Decree Subordinates Interior, Border Troops

LD1009141591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1313 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent S. Balykov]

[Text] Kiev, 10 Sep (UKRINFORM-TASS)—Decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine published here today deal with the subordination to the Ukraine of internal and border troops stationed on its territory.

In accordance with the decree of the Ukrainian parliament, On Military Formations of the Ukraine, under these documents all the military units of the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and of the USSR border troops, along with their weapons and material and technical supplies and also their administrative bodies stationed here, are transferred to the jurisdiction of the Republic.

It has been decided to set up a Republican Guard of the Ukraine on the basis of the military units of the internal troops, which the commander will be given the task of leading. It is noted that the commander of the Republican Guard is to be confirmed by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, and is directly subordinate to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine. The commander of the border troops of the Ukraine is also to be confirmed by the parliament of the Republic, but is subordinate to the Cabinet of Ministers of the Ukraine.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine has entrusted the Cabinet of Ministers, and the commission of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine for issues of defense and state security, with preparing draft laws on the Ukrainian Republican Guard and on the state border of the Ukraine, and also regulations on procedures for manning and for providing material, technical, and financial resources to the border troops and guard, and with presenting it for discussion by the parliament of the Republic by 15 September 15 1991.

Decree on Enterprises Approved

LD1009200791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] A session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet today approved the presidium decrees, adopted following the 19-21 August coup attempt. Among them are documents concerning the transfer of union enterprises, establishments, and organizations on the republican territory to the ownership of the Ukrainian state and also concerning protection for foreign investment in the Ukraine. The Cabinet of Ministers has been entrusted with ensuring that the union enterprises, establishments, and organizations become Ukrainian property in the main by 1 October and that the whole work is completed by 1 December. The decree on the protection of foreign investments in the Ukraine guarantees that foreign investors can transfer abroad their legitimate profits and other sums both in rubles an in freely convertible currency.

Moldova

President Snegur Assesses Political Scene

Views Domestic, Foreign Policy

AU1009182991 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Holding its fall meeting, the parliament of the Republic of Moldova is examining important bills regarding lands, leases, cooperation, farming, and other issues.

On this occasion, the Moldovan President Mircha Snegur delivered a speech on the main points of the domestic and foreign policy promoted by the sovereign Republic of Moldova. Mr. Mircha Snegur emphasized the complexity of tasks faced by the republic in connection with consolidating its state independence, creating the necessary preconditions for the international recognition of sovereign Moldova, developing a structure of legislative and executive power, and all socioeconomic areas.

Referring to relations with the former socialist countries in the East, and especially with Romania, the speaker assessed that all necessary preconditions exist so that the fruitful relations with the Eastern European countries favor the international recognition of the Republic of Moldova. With the help of these countries we can take the first steps toward entering UN, UNESCO, and other structures of international bodies. At the same time, Mr. Snegur said, our participation in the activity of regional and subregional organizations will be facilitated. Our recognition by the world states depends directly on our stability at home and on the civilized way in which we solve all problems. We have to come to terms, to forgive mistakes, and all of us together have to forge a happy and independent future, the speaker emphasized.

In this context, President Mircha Snegur called on ethnic minorities, particularly Russians and Ukrainians, who are living in the Republic of Moldova to work together with the Moldovans to strengthen independence. He stressed that the creation of a national currency and banking system is necessary to protect the economy of the Republic, and that the economic reforms, particularly the privatization of lands and enterprises, have to be speeded up.

President Snegur asked the parliament to urgently adopt a law authorizing free presidential elections on the basis of a universal ballot before 17 November, so that the new president-elect may take over his position on 1 January 1992. According to the law in force, the president is elected by parliament. He also emphasized that Moldova is ready to participate in creating a common economic area among several Soviet republics, but that the Republic of Moldova, which declared its independence on 27 August—after the failure of the state coup in the Soviet Union—opposes any participation in a political union.

President Snegur also demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Moldovan territory, stressing that they have to be replaced by forces of the Ministry of National Defense of the Republic of Moldova.

Assesses Republic's Objectives

LD1009172891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1113 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Kishinev, 10 September (TASS)— "It will be much easier for us to pursue political and economic independence, because after the coup attempt in Moscow the monopoly in Moldova of political and economic structures supported by the empire has collapsed." This was stated by Moldovan President Mircha Snegur at the session of the republic's parliament which opened today.

Speaking on the most important issues to be addressed in the near future, reports the MOLDOVA-PRES agency, Snegur singled out the establishment of political and economic independence, preparation and then debate by the entire Moldovan public of a draft for a new democratic constitution, and change in the nature of relations with foreign states of East and West.

Aware of the new union structures being created, Snegur declared, "I can accept the creation of a single economic space, but without entry by the republic into any form of political structure whatsoever. We are ready to conduct relations with all that form part of a future community of sovereign states."

Moreover, Snegur stressed that for Moldova it is a matter of principle to support and further expand mutually beneficial relations with the states of Eastern Europe—Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania. "We should play a most active role in the interregional initiatives of the Danube and Balkan states," he emphasized. Touching upon the political situation in Moldova, Snegur called upon the members of parliament to adjourn the session and go and meet the people of the Dnester basin and south Moldova areas. "The imperial structures in the center can no longer be relied upon," he said, "because they no longer exist. We alone—Russians, Ukrainians, Jews—can solve our problems, and we must do so together." The deputies attending the session will examine ways of strengthening the republic's political and economic independence, and debate a land code for Moldova.

Ensuring Independence Top Priority

OW1009154391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At the autumn session of the Moldovan parliament which opened in Kishinev today president of the republic Mircha Snegur pointed out that internal and external factors were now favourable for the rapid implentation of Moldova's independence.

First and foremost, the president said, it was essential to ensure independence, to adopt several political and legal documents, to lay the foundations for the privatization of national property and for integration into the community of Europe.

Mr. Snegur came out in favour of speedily enacting a new constitution for the independent Moldova.

On the subject of Moldova's relations with the Union, Snegur said that political and economic problems would be settled by way of talks. A particular status would be accorded to relations with the Baltic states and the former socialist community countries, notably Romania.

"On the economic front, Moldova reiterates its commitment to a market economy and the equality of all forms of property as well as its intention to carry out a privatization programme and its determination to protect the internal market, to guarantee the rights of foreign investors," Snegur continued.

The president stressed that international recognition of Moldova would only be forthcoming if the internal situation was stable and proposed the adoption at the present session of legislation on general presidential elections. In his opinion elections could be held not later than November 16 of this year. Mircha Snegur also supported the enactment in the Republic of Moldova of legislation on political parties and referenda.

Snegur Favors Dialogue To Settle Conflicts

AU0909204091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1800 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/9/1991—In an interview for the Nippon television the president of the Republic of Moldova, Mircha Snegur, stated that—in a first stage—the people should really realise what freedom means, should understand the great responsibility incumbent on it in the process of national rebirth.

The same realistic principle is to be applied to the blocking of the railways by separatist elements which are hostile to the democratic changes in Tiraspol, Bender and in other towns. Although their actions are contrary to the law and are qualified as crimes, drastic measures will not be taken against them for the time being though the necessary forces exist to intervene. Those hoping to start an inter-ethnic conflict should renounce this idea because the leadership of the republic—consistent to democratic reforms—accepts only the dialogue as the sole way of settling all conflicts.

Snegur Wants All Romanians To Stand Together

AU1009132791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1157 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 10/9/991—"The current leadership of the Republic of Moldova will not step back, no way" the president of the Republic of Moldova, Mircha Snegur, says in an interview published by the Bucharest daily "ADEVARUL" on 10 September "Moldova did not copy anybody's independence tendencies; it has had its own policy on this subject since 1985," he added.

Stressing that Moldova is looking towar l economic relations with the former union's republics and that "it will join an economic agreement that may take effect in 1992" Mircha Snegur says: "The rest is uninteresting to us—the political treaty, the political community or whatever its name may be, because we may look elsewhere, to other communities, more convenient to us."

On relations between the Republic of Moldova and Romania, he said they are "at an advanced stage."

Admitting he "was concerned over the situation in the two pseudo-republics—Dnestr and Gagauz—Mircha Snegur said: "Anyhow, we will pursue, like until now, the peaceful road of conciliation, and rule out the use of force... Should one single drop of blood be spilled, then we must concede failure to fully do our duty as statesmen."

Asked what action should be taken to get back the territories that were given to the Ukraine, Mr. Snegur said that matter had to be seen in perspective and added "it's terrible what happened to the Romanian territories. I would like to see all thirty-five million Romanians stand together. I am waiting, and wish the voice of the Romanians were heard around."

Interior Minister Costas Views Current Scene

AU1009155591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1200 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev] (ROMPRES) 10/9/1991—From the very beginning I should like to state that independence is very dear. While the empire is disintegrating, it is not so simple to win freedom and independence, said to the ROMPRES envoy to Chisinau the minister of the interior of the Republic of Moldova, Ion Costas.

Unfortunately, putschists continue their activity in Moldova with the support of forces that want to keep Moldova in the composition of the Soviet Union, the collocutor further said. It is not by chance that other two republics—Dnesterian and Gagauzan—were created on our land with the knowledge of Lukyanov and other Moscow leaders. If you do not sign the treaty, they tell us, Moldova will remain only a patch of land.

There still are people who have not given up yet their imperial thinking and work for the maintenance of tension at any cost. Such a situation, backed by Russia and Ukraine, is conducive to destabilization, hatemongering, chaos, conflict and, ultimately, to civil war and bloodshed.

As the phrase "the empire died, long live the empire" is still topical, we have to face another danger coming from Russia and from certain Russian democrats.

In Tiraspol, reserve officers train special units made up of 800 people ready to fight till the end in defence of the last bastion of communism.

Minister Costas underscored he made an appeal to reason and dialogue on the radio and the television so as confrontations should be avoided.

However, I think reason and calm will prevail and people will understand that the separatists' line is false and wrong, and the action toward dismembering the Republic of Moldova is doomed to failure, he also said.

Presidential Decree Dissolves Republic KGB

LD1009212191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 2015 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] By a decree of the president of the republic, the Moldovan KGB has been dissolved on 10 September. A

Ministry of National Security has been set up on its basis. All the buildings and facilities, material, technical, and financial means and also the arms of the former KGB are the property of Moldova, the decree states. The government of Moldova has been instructed to set up a special commission to settle possible disputes over the KGB's union and republican property.

Release of Tiraspol, Comrat Leaders Demanded

AU1009155291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1309 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 10/9/1991—The main entrance to the Permanent Representation Office of the Government of the Republic of Moldova in Moscow was blocked for one hour on Monday, MOLDOVA-PRES special envoy reported. A few members of the Russian National Committee who blocked the entrance used loudspeakers to demand that the separatist leaders of Tiraspol and Comrat, in custody on alleged connivance with the aborted coup leaders, be set free. The protesters were received by Aleksey Andreyevskiy, minister adviser at Moldova's representation office in Moscow, who detailed out the position of the president of the republic, of the parliament and of the Government of Moldova on the issue, and supplied material evidence of the separatists' cooperation with the coup leaders.

Minister of National Security Appointed

LD1009230791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1430 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Kishinev, 10 Sep (TASS)—[passage omitted] Valeriy Plugaru, who earlier occupied the post of chairman of the mandate commission of the republican parliament, has been appointed minister of national security of the republic by decree of the president of Moldova.

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia Denounces Shevardnadze, Others

LD1109085391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1357 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 10 September (TASS)—Barricades were erected today in the center of Tbilisi outside the headquarters of the Georgian National Independence Party by its supporters, fearing an attack by the republican OMON [special militia]. Unprecedented measures to protect the government building have also been taken by the National Guardsmen who remain loyal to President Zviad Gamsakhurdia: their cartridge pouches contain fragmentation grenades with detonators primed.

Another part of the National Guard, men who are refusing to be under the jurisdiction of the head of the republic, has gathered on the approaches to Tbilisi. Acording to a statement by Tengiz Kitovani, its commander, they retain for themselves the right to freedom of action in the event that the authorities dare to use force against the opposition. This sub-unit has armoured cars, so heavy dump trucks carrying reinforced concrete blocks are ready to cover the roads into Tbilisi at any minute.

President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, speaking late yesterday evening at a meeting of his supporters at the government building, said that destructive forces in Georgia, inspired from the center, are hindering international recognition and the attainment of full independence for the republic. Among the "enemies of Georgia" he once again named former union Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and leaders of the republic who have recently been relieved of their posts. These include Tengiz Singua, Georgiy Khoshtariya, Tengiz Kitovani, and a number of other eminent public figures and representatives of the intelligentsia of Georgia.

The official mass media continue to accuse Central and Russian Television, Tass and Moscow publications of a "coordinated campaign of lies and disinformation against those who are striving for the independence of the republic". In connection with this the relaying of all news broadcasts of television programs from Moscow was halted yesterday.

Reportage on Civil Disturbances, Responses

Civil War 'Perilously Close'

PM1109091591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[N. Andreyev report: "Z. Gamsakhurdia: The Kremlin's Infernal Machine Will Not Triumph Over Us"]

[Text] Tension is mounting in Georgia, and there is nothing good about that, of course: The republic has come perilously close to the brink of civil war. The statements by President Gamsakhurdia, opposition leaders, and National Guard Commander T. Kitovani offer scant hope of peace. Gamsakhurdia, on whom the stabilization of the situation principally depends, appears to be at an utter loss. How else can one explain his monotonous attempts to put everything that happens in Georgia down to Kremlin intrigue. At a rally held in Tbilisi 7 September he stated: "The Kremlin's infernal machine has been activated with the help of Georgian traitors based in Moscow. I urge the Georgian people to rise up and destroy those traitors... I am ready to go to the people and, through rallies and demonstrations, to arouse the Georgian people and smash all our enemies."

The Georgian public, having abandoned one type of authoritarianism, is sliding into another. Its hallmarks are the heightened nationalism, the political curbs on opponents, the regime-controlled press, the search for "enemies of the people," the extolling of the leader, and its development into a cult. Tomas Naskidashvili, former chairman of the Georgian Society in France, commented in this regard in LE MONDE: "If the cure for the Communist disease will inevitably be agonizing, brutal, crippling, and humiliating, let them tell us. If it has to get worse before it gets better, let them tell us. But let them stop hiding behind democracy here."

Gamsakhurdia has set the Georgian intelligentsia against him. Anyone who opposes Gamsakhurdia's totalitarian political methods is declared a "bad Georgian" and an "enemy of the people." These "enemies" include writers R. Dzhaparidze and L. Khayndrava, poet D. Charkviani, movie directors T. Abduladze and R. Esadze, theater director R. Sturua, and Academicians N. Chavchavadze and A. Bakradze. They addressed a manifesto to the Georgian people in which they tried to express their opinion of Gamsakhurdia. They have been unable to get their manifesto printed in Georgia.

Gamsakhurdia has concentrated on adopting the most effective possible posture of confrontation with the Kremlin. He has now announced a complete break in relations with the USSR.

But what does this actually mean?

The Georgian president accuses the Kremlin of hampering the republic's recognition by other countries. However, what lies behind the regime in Georgia today is no secret to the West. THE NEW YORK TIMES considers that "A glance at Gamsakhurdia's poor track record gives grounds for thinking that his election ushers in not democracy, but its murder in the womb." The FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU considers that Gamsakhurdia's election as president of the republic has brought Goergia closer to an authoritarian state.

Gamsakhurdia himself is aggressive toward the press—both Soviet and foreign. He considers that the "Western mass media come under great influence from Moscow,

particularly German journalists who place undue credence in TASS and Moscow, which transmit false information."

A. Asatiani, chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, is coming to Moscow. He intends to meet James Baker and persuade him to recognize Georgia. The attempt will most likely prove unsuccessful precisely because of the nature of the regime in the republic.

Thousands Rally to President

LD1009200291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Video report from Tbilisi by correspondent N. Gongadze; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A tense situation still prevails in Tbilisi. Passions have flared up to such an extent that barricades appeared today outside the building of the headquarters of the Georgian National Independence Party.

The militia and guards are protecting government house with the same persistence. It is here that supporters of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, demanding the punishment of those who caused the disturbances, are on a hunger strike.

Rallies thousands strong in support of the president are being arranged every day outside government house. Georgian monarchists have joined the opposition forces. Representatives of the Georgian National Democratic Party are also protesting on Rustaveli Prospekt.

Yesterday President Zviad Gamsakhurdia issued three decrees according to which a Georgian Ministry of Defense was set up. The guards, who are currently located in the suburb of (Shamnabada), have been told to occupy the municipal barracks, and (Nudar Georgadze), 38, from Tbilisi, chairman of the Georgian Union of Afghan Veterans, has been appointed acting minister of defense.

'Nervous Atmosphere' Reported

AU1009142091 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Protests are taking place on Rustaveli Prospect. Actions directed against the Government are continuing.

Approximately 80 beds for the participants in the actions have been set up on the steps and territory in front of the National Independence Party building, the former Marxist-Leninist Institute, and also in the columned corridors.

A sit-down strike has also been announced by the National Democratic Party, which is organizing action outside its headquarters.

The Georgian Monarchist Party is organizing action in front of School Number One [adjacent to the Government building] and representatives of regional organizations of the Georgian Helsinki Union are organizing action in front of the government building.

Therefore, there continues to be a tense and nervous atmosphere in the city.

Barricades Erected in Tbilisi

LD1009131191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] There is no lessening of the tension in Tbilisi. TASS has received a REUTER report citing information from local journalists that barricades are being erected in the center of the city. They are being put up by demonstrators demanding the resignation of President Gamsakhurdia of Georgia. Over 1,000 people, mainly members of opposition parties, built an obstruction across the main highway, after hearing rumors that Gamsakhurdia was ready to give the order to disperse the demonstration. Militia forces are watching the erection of barricades, but are not intervening in the events.

Meetings, Hunger Strike Reported

AU1109095391 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0815 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Domestic in Georgian at 0815 GMT on 11 September, in its "Piki Saat'i" (Rush Hour) news program, carries a 30 second report on yesterday's demonstrations in Tbilisi. Reception is very poor.

The report states that barricades were erected outside the headquarters of the National Independence Party, a meeting was held yesterday evening outside the headquarters of the National Democratic Party and another was organized by the Monarchist Party outside School Number One. It concludes by saying that people have gone on hunger strike outside the government building in support of Georgian President Gamsakhurdia.

Demonstrators Disperse 'Peacefully'

AU1109075491 Paris AFP in English 0002 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sep 11 (AFP) — Supporters and opponents of Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia dispersed peacefully Tuesday [10 September] after a day of rival demonstrations in the capital Tbilisi, according to local journalists contacted by telephone.

Around 20,000 people who had gathered in the centre of the city to demand the president's resignation dispersed without any intervention by Georgian police, although barricades they had erected earlier on Rustaveli Avenue, one of the main thoroughfares, remained in place.

The streets of Tbilisi were still thronged with people late Tuesday, the journalists said.

The barricades had been taken over by militants of the National Independence Party led by Irakli Tsereteli, they reported.

Soviet television said several thousand people turned out to support Gamsakhurdia following accusations by his opponents that he was a "dictator".

Demonstrations have been held virtually every day since last Friday to demand Gamsakhurdia's resignation, and local sources said several Georgian intellectuals had decided to join the opposition, as had a "provisional student union".

Thousands of national guardsmen who disobeyed orders by the Georgian authorities earlier in the week were still stationed at Shavnabada, a village just outside Tbilisi.

Soviet television announced meanwhile that the Georgian authorities had ceased broadcasting news bulletins of the main Soviet channel and of Russian television.

Several Georgian television workers are threatening to go on strike in protest at what they call the authorities' "disinformation policy".

Deputy Interviewed on Situation

LD1009223191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Studio interview with Medeya Tushmalishvili, deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia, by Vremya presenter Dmitriy Linnik, date not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Linnik] In an effort to master the situation, the authorities are not only bringing up the faithful units of the National Guard and of the republican Internal Affairs Ministry, but are also applying a well-tried method: according to reports, in the past few days meat and butter have unexpectedly appeared in Tbilisi shops. This is information supplied by foreign correspondents, the possibilities of ours are limited.

Broadcasts of Central and Russian Television in Georgia have been interrupted. Republican television is transmitting news and, in the intervals, documentary films about Zviad Gamsakhurdia and also interviews with him and with his companions-in-arms. Gamsakhurdia's supporters wanted the opportunity to come on the air on the "Vremya" program, and we granted them this opportunity.

[Tushmalishvili] The entire Georgian people hoped that, with the arrival of a real democrat, Igor Yakovlev, at the television, the situation would change and that television would end its nonobjective badgering, which is constantly being conducted against Georgia's lawful government.

[Linnik] Is it true that Central and Russian Television programming have been taken off the air in Georgia?

[Tushmalishvili] From yesterday.

[Linnik] Is it true that both Shevardnadze and (?Kitovani), even though they are politicians of different statures, and a whole series of Georgian cultural figures, are on this list of enemies of Georgia. Is this the case or not?

[Tushmalishvili] You know, Georgia is now in an extreme situation, in an extreme situation. We are in the trenches, we are now waging a very difficult struggle, both physically and morally, in all respects. And all those people who voluntarily or involuntarily afford support to the enemy, I believe that one may, of course, qualify them as enemies of the Georgian people.

[Linnik] We leave this information without comment.

Parliament To Hold Extraordinary Sitting

LD1009150991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 10 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Georgia—An extraordinary sitting of the parliament's session will take place today.

Rallies of the opposition, which disagrees with the opinion of President Gamsakhurdia about the need to first acquire complete freedom and then struggle for democracy, are taking place in Tbilisi and in a number of rayons in the Republic.

The leader of Georgia announced that links with the Union are broken at all levels which ignore the declaration on independence.

To date, only Romania has recognized Georgia's independence.

Western observers assess the situation and prospects for its development very cautiously, taking into account the suppression by force of the opposition on 2 September.

Opposition Demands Voice at Session

OW1109095191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent reports that the Georgian opposition held yet another rally in Tbilisi on September 10, advancing a set of demands that seem to be less radical than those voiced earlier.

This time the opposition insisted on the convocation of an emergency parliamentary session at which opposition representatives would be allowed to speak before TV cameras covering the session live, the imposition of restrictions on the presidential powers, and the restoration of Tenghiz Sigua as the republic Prime Minister.

The rally was addressed by group of intellectuals, among them film director Eldar Shenghelaya, who offered to mediate talks between President Gamsakhurdia and the opposition.

Meanwhile, the presidential press service has reported that rallies have been held throughout the republic in support of the lawfully elected Georgian leadership, and that a group of members of the Iliah the Righteous Society and Georgian Helsinki Union have even launched a hunger strike in protest against "the activity of destructive forces in the republic."

Central, Russian TV News Reportedly Banned

LD1109082891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in 0700 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Reports from Tbilisi say that some 20,000 people took part in a demonstration on Tuesday in the center of the Georgian capital to demand the resignation of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

Barricades were placed near the headquarters of the opposition National Independence Party of Georgia. Part of the republican national guards units refused to obey the president.

Soviet television reports that the Georgian authorities have banned television news reports from Moscow of the central and Russian TV networks.

'Biased' Media Criticized

OW1009152991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgiy Shenghelaya, an aide to the Georgian President Zviad Gasakhurdia, has said Georgia's further relations with the Soviet Union may be "problematic" unless Moscow recognizes his republic's independence. He told a Moscow news conference that Georgia, however, would not seek to sever its economic ties with Russia or the other republics; it would insist on "absolutely equal economic and political relationships among the various republics."

Mr. Shenghelaya said the news conference was needed to clarify the real situation in Tbilisi in the wake of "biased coverage" of the developments in Georgia by the media. The audience was offered to watch video sequences shown recently by the national TV programs "TSN" and "Vesti" which, according to the conference's organizers, were "openly slanderous."

Asked by IF's [INTERFAX's] reporter why the Georgian Supreme Soviet had failed to meet any of the past few days to discuss the difficult situation in Tbilisi, Mr. Shenghelaya said this had been unnecessary. "Had we convened a parliamentary session, we would have acknowledged the fact that the republic was in a state of emergency," he said

Ms. Medea Tushmarishvili, a Georgian MP [member of parliament] and member of the ruling bloc "Round Table—Free Georgia," said that opposition actions in Tbilisi had, in her view, been instigated from Moscow. "Russia is losing the Caucasus, and whatever happens there stems directly from this fact," she said.

Russian Deputies Propose Observation Posts

LD1009151691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] A number of committees of the Russian parliament have expressed concern over the latest developments in the Georgian capital, Tbilisi and the autonomous regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Georgia. A joint statement issued by the committees says that what is happening there goes beyond all civilized notions of human rights. To normalize the situation, the committees proposed that observation posts be set up, manned by members of the Russian Federation, the Soviet Union, and Georgia.

Meanwhile, mass rallies in Tbilisi continue to demand the resignation of President Gamsakhurdia, describing his methods as totalitarian. The meetings also demand that parliament be dissolved and general democracy introduced.

Abkhazian Supreme Council Adopts New Laws

AU1109085891 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 31 Aug 91 p 3

[Report by Tengiz Pachkoriya: "At the Session of the Supreme Council of the Abkhazian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR]"; place and date not given]

[Text] SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA has already reported that on 15 August 1991, at a meeting of the 11th session of the Abkhazian ASSR Supreme Council, a conciliation commission was created whose members, jointly with Georgian and Abkhazian legal experts, had to elaborate and coordinate final texts of quite a number of bills constituting a specific "package of laws." These documents had to be elaborated in connection with the forthcoming elections to the Supreme Council of the Abkhazian ASSR and with the functioning of the future parliament and government of the autonomous republic.

These laws were discussed at the session's meeting in Sukhumi on 26 August. The meeting was opened by Vladislav Ardzinba, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Abkhazian ASSR.

The session gave a positive assessment to the work of the deputies' conciliation commission, which, jointly with legal experts, worked hard on preparing the documents. The Law on Introducing Changes Into the Abkhazian ASSR Law On Electing Deputies to the Abkhazian ASSR Supreme Council was approved. The deputies accepted the conciliation commission's proposal on introducing changes into the personnel of the Central Electoral Commission on the Elections to the Abkhazian ASSR Supreme Council. In particular, representatives of the Sukhumi and Ochamchira rayons were included into its composition and two representatives of the town of

Sukhumi excluded, that is to say, changes were made that suited representatives of the interested parties. The session adopted the Law on Introducing Changes Into the Abkhazian ASSR Law on the Nationwide Voting (Referendum) of the Abkhazian ASSR. In accordance with these changes, a decision on holding a referendum on questions related to changing the Abkhazian ASSR Constitution may only be adopted, by a two-thirds majority vote, by the Abkhazian ASSR Supreme Council deputies. The meeting adopted the Abkhazian ASSR Law on Introducing Changes into the Abkhazian ASSR Constitution in accordance with which laws and other acts on questions of the Abkhazian ASSR legal status can be adopted, by a two-thirds majority vote, by the deputies of the Abkhazian Supreme Council.

After a discussion and a debate, the deputies also adopted the Provisional Law of the Abkhazian ASSR on the Procedure for Electing and Nominating Organs and Officials by the Abkhazian ASSR Supreme Council. This law will become effective on 1 October 1991 and will remain valid throughout the term of office of the Abkhazian ASSR Supreme Council of 12th convocation (the elections of the deputies to the Abkhazian ASSR Supreme Council of 12th convocation will take place on 29 September).

The provisional law stipulates, among other things, that the chairman of the Abkhazian ASSR Supreme Council may be elected, by a simple majority of votes and by secret ballot, from among deputies of Abkhazian nationality of the autonomous republic's parliament for a period of five years and for no more than two successive terms. The first deputy chairman of the Abkhazian ASSR Supreme Council may be elected, by secret ballot, from among deputies of Georgian nationality, on the submission of the chairman of the autonomous republic's Supreme Council for a term of five years and for no more than two successive terms. The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the autonomous republic is nominated, by a simple majority vote, by the Abkhazian ASSR Supreme Council from among persons of Georgian nationality. The first deputy chairman of the Abkhazian Council of Ministers will be nominated by the Supreme Council of the Abkhazian ASSR from among persons of Abkhazian nationality—also by a simple majority vote.

The session adopted a decision to suspend the activity of the Abkhazian Republican Committee of the Georgian Communist Party and to nationalize the property of the CPSU Central Committee, of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party, and of the Abkhazian Republican Committee of the Georgian Communist Party situated on the territory of the autonomous republic.

A number of deputies supported V. Ardzinba's proposal to refrain from mutual accusations, denunciations, and insults, to exercise more restraint and balance in the press and in radio and television programs, and to refrain from holding meetings during the period of the preelection campaign.

Contrary to the request by Vakhtang Kolbaya, first deputy chairman of the Abkhazian ASSR Supreme Council, not to engage in a "war of laws," the session adopted resolutions on the Republic of Georgia Law on Introducing Changes and Additions to the Republic of Georgia Constitution and on the fifth issue of the agenda, in accordance with which, these legislative acts are considered as not subject to fulfillment and as null and void on the territory of the autonomous republic.

At the very end of the session's meeting, the deputies were addressed by the deputy Yuriy Gavva, editor in chief of the independent newspaper DEMOKRATICHESKAYA ABKHAZIYA (the former SOVETSKAYA ABKHAZIYA). On behalf of the collective, he conveyed the editorial board's demand not to prevent the registration and publication of this newspaper to the participants in the session. He pointed out that all sorts of rumors were being spread to the effect that the newspaper's editorial board is allegedly using party property. Yuriy Gavva pointed out that 30 years ago, in 1961, the premises of the editorial office were transferred to the executive committee of the Sukhumi Municipal Soviet and stated that throughout these years and until 1991, this and other Abkhazian newspapers had been financed from the Georgian state budget Yu. Gavva emphasized that, in recent years, SOVETSKAYA ABKHAZIYA was profitable and even covered a part of the subsidies granted to other Abkhazian newspapers and magazines. He expressed the hope that, with the support and assistance of the deputies, the newspaper would be legally registered.

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan Addresses Supreme Soviet

NC1009145491 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1710 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Report by Mavr Danielyan from the Armenian Supreme Soviet session on 9 September, in Yerevan; recorded]

[Excerpts] [Danielyan] After a recess which lasted over a month, the third session of the first convocation of the Armenian Supreme Soviet resumed its deliberations today. As was expected, the parliament decided to first examine the situation prevailing in the Soviet Union and the republic.

The session is being chaired by Gagik Arutyunyan, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and, in his opening remarks, he said that laws defining the legal basis for our independence must be adopted during the upcoming three-day session. [passage omitted]

The radical changes that took place in the Soviet Union during the parliament's recess have clarified many issues, but the deputies nevertheless came to the parliament with many uncertainties and questions on their minds regarding the programs for the future. Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, responded to most of these questions when he spoke extensively on the first item on the agenda.

[Ter-Petrosyan] Esteemed deputies, to begin with I congratulate you on opening the Supreme Soviet's third session. I hope that we will continue to persist in our effort to realize our adopted political course during this session, and, when conditions in the republic have improved, we will have the opportunity to make real progress. During the parliamentary recess, our republic, people, and the other Soviet peoples suffered an overwhelming trial. At the least two major developments took place that might have turned back the clock of history: the coup of Aug 19-21 and the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Congress of People's Deputies sessions held after the coup. [passage omitted] I repeat that I do not deem it necessary analyze the coup or enter into a discussion of its causes. From the viewpoint of realizing our political aspirations, it is far more important to reply to certain critical issues and points that significant for the future course of our policy.

The most important question after the coup's failure was who would hold real political power in the Soviet Union, but I believe that the USSR Supreme Soviet session that opened on 26 August answered this question. The alignment of the parlimentary factions and the strategy Gorbachev and Yeltsin adopted created the impression that efforts were being made at the session to restore the former power structures. [passage omitted] It appeared that Yeltsin held the real power in the country, as it was easy for him to openly state this fact and declare himself the country's king and master. Some steps were actually taken in this direction; I have in mind in particular Russia's declaration demanding that all the main governmental posts be given to Russian officials. Yeltsin nevertheless yielded his real absolute power in favor of the former power structures. There were those who advocated and frantically defended this course of action. To everyone's surprise, Sobchak and Khasbulatov sided with such people in their televised talks and their articles in the press. Even Gavril Popov was among these advocates. A new phenomenon thus began to appear in the center: The democrats who had been fighting against the central authorities switched to (?supporting) the central power structures. [words indistinct]

Given that he seemed to be the vanguard of the democratic forces, Yeltsin had to smash the former power structures which, as he had frequently said, were the primary factors impeding our progress. On the other hand, Yeltsin could not assume a position of historic responsibility or enter the history books as the force behind the country's destruction. His was a serious responsibility, of historic proportions.

He also had to take into account the pro-imperialist forces in Russia, who would never have accepted the fall of the empire. Yeltsin was in an extremely difficult situation, and he chose the second alternative, which was to protect the central power structures, but in such a way that these structures would remain under his constant supervision. He opted for a docile central government, and the USSR Supreme Soviet took this course. Even during the Supreme Soviet session, however, the democratic circles were seriously concerned about this plan. [words indistinct]

Eventually the USSR Congress of People's Deputies responded to (?these concerns). It finally shed light on the most important issue: Who would hold power in the Soviet Union. The republics raised their resolute voice and Yeltsin, fearing complete isolation, was forced to (?give in) to the republics, as in any other case the republics might have allied themselves with Gorbachev and strengthened him. [words indistinct] The result was that the former union state structures were completely eliminated. [passage omitted] This has not ended the struggle; however, it has simply [words indistinct] until a new phase.

I reiterate that the situation is auspicious, because the wave of oppression that hit some areas before the [words indistinct] has now been eliminated, and we can now resolve the political problems in a civilized manner. The Army's persecution of the republics, including Nagorno-Karabakh, has been stopped. [words indistinct] It is hardly possible that the Army would dare take any action at this time, even during the interethnic conflicts. I got this impression when I met with the military representatives. Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh have been given the opportunity to resolve their accumulated political problems more or less peacefully [words indistinct].

Now, regarding our future programs and policy: [passage omitted] There is no need whatsoever to diverge from the course we have adopted; rather, the value of our referendum has been enhanced. Let me explain: Both the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the State Council have, for the time being, reconciled themselves only with the independence of the Baltic Republics. Why? To begin with, the Baltic states' independence was based on an irrefutable legal foundation which was recognized by the USSR before everything else. [passage omitted]

Another trend currently is being observed both inside the country and abroad: The West and the Soviet Union are stressing that the recognition of the Baltic states should not serve as a precedent, and that the West does not want the other republics to emulate the Baltic states. Therefore, it should not be expected that the West will so (?easily) recognize the other republics' independence, from the political and the legal point of view. I repeat that the Baltic states' independence was based on genuine legal foundations, and, therefore, we must create genuine legal foundations for our independence so it can

be recognized as well. We could do this with the referendum that will be held in accordance with the existing Soviet laws and Constitution, a procedure which neither Gorbachev nor the West can object to. Even if the current circumstances prevent us from gaining full independence over the coming years, it will make no difference, because our independence will still have a legal basis, even if 20 years go by. The 21 September referendum will be this foundation, just as the Ribbentrop-Molotov [words indistinct] was the basis of the Baltic independence after 51 years. We are thus creating an irrefutable legal foundation that also has political value, and Moscow will not recognize the other republics' independence as long as they do not create a similar legal basis. Our guide is the existing Soviet law on the secession of the republics, which only Armenia can implement. No other republic can do so, because the issue of autonomous oblasts and nationalities will crop up immediately.

[Passage omitted] Our future steps are clear. The road to attain political independence has opened up, and, in our view, its legal foundation is the 21 September referendum. After these developments, not a single person in Armenia will oppose Armenia's independence, particularly as this independence is being formulated in line with the USSR Congress of People's Deputies' decisions. After the referendum, therefore, we must declare our independence at the Supreme Soviet level, apply to the United Nations Organizations based on the relevant decision of the USSR People's Congress which states that the Union is ready to support our application to become part of the structures of international law. I am not saying that this (?will come to pass), but we must make the effort, and we must really launch a broad public-awareness campaign, as the Baltic states have been doing for the past two years. We must explain to the entire world and the Soviet Union that our independence has a full legal basis. Once that has been accomplished, there will be broad possibilities for all kinds of cooperation, beginning with economic cooperation, with the Soviet Union. I think that even the Baltic Republics that have achieved political independence could become part of this economic cooperation after a certain period of time.

There are also other issues, such as military matters, which must be addressed. It is obvious that neither the Union nor Russia can currently make concessions on the integrity of the Army and of the entire military-strategic field. Besides, there hardly any of the republics want to create a modern army, probably with the exception of Ukraine. The rest of the republics will be satisfied for the time being with creating national guards to protect domestic law and order and defend the national borders. The rest of the problems can be solved on a treaty basis with the Soviet Army. I met [USSR Defense Minister] Shaposhnikov a few times, and they are ready to examine treaties between the republic and the Defense Ministry. A wide program of military reforms are being drawn up; for example, tomorrow the first consultation on military reforms will take place with Shaposhnikov in Moscow, and our deputy Vagan Shirkhanyan will attend. The republics should have their own defense ministries and their own national guards, and these ideas have been accepted already. In addition, the Soviet Army in the republics should form one single okrug, specifically, each republic should be a single military okrug. Its commander must be put under the command of both the republican and Union defense ministries, and the republic's defense minister should also be a member of the army general staff. This is the approximate form of the program that I hope everyone will accept. The most painful issue to be considered here is the matter of conscription. No matter what reforms are passed, Armenia will not consent to Armenian soldiers serving outside Armenia. I am sure that this issue too can be resolved through treaties, and I even told Shaposhnikov that it would be good—this issue was raised in vain with Yazov—for a military academy to be established in Armenia, at least to train mid-level officers. Though Shaposhnikov promised to fulfill this request, I do not know to what extent he follow through on his promise. He asked us to formulate a program to this end.

Serious problems exist that cannot be solved right away, even after independence is declared. We must take into account the military-strategic interests of the Union and of Russia and for a time—if not for a long time—put up with the presence of the Soviet Army. Naturally, its presence in Armenia will be regulated by the relevant treaties, and perhaps by creating a military bases status. In any case, this is being seriously examined at the center.

This is almost all I had to say to you. Our deliberations should not concentrate on analyzing the events but should focus on the things we must do under the current circumstances. I will now explain my point of view, but make no claim that it is correct. This is how I see our political situation for the near future: There will be the declaration of independence following the referendum and our active participation in all areas of Union, or rather inter-republican, activities. We need to extricate ourselves from the present situation and make our presence felt in the political sphere. Each side is waiting to see how things develop, and all believe that time is working in their favor. We should see to it that time works in our favor as well. Though this issue will be debated, I think that Armenia must be represented in all the inter-republican power structures, the House of the Republics, the Interrepublican Economic Committee, and the State Council. We will debate and decide this issue here, but I believe that this course is the best for us right now.

Here we should not forget—we have never forgotten it; this issue has appeared in all our debates, often fiercely—that our aspiration for independence makes us a bit different from the other republics, because, while the other republics have a single political problem, we, unfortunately, have two. We must be able to harmonize the quest for independence with finding a solution for

the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. There are two opposing views: The first maintains that the unwavering drive for independence seriously harms the destiny of Nagorno-Karabakh, which is being persecuted. The other view holds that a direct move to independence is the only way to solve the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. I cannot say which is the absolute truth, and I am inclined to take a position between the two. I reiterate that there have been incidents in history where time has been the most decisive factor. If time is used correctly, unnecessary losses can be avoided. Our next concern, therefore, should be to harmonize the political course of our independence with the solution for the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. These two problems are our cross which we must bear to the very end, and these will be the most important problems facing us in the future as well.

What are the current prospects for the Nagorno-Karabakh problem? I already mentioned one auspicious and important factor: Nagorno-Karabakh's persecution by the Army has been stopped, at least for the near future. A second promising factor is that the euphoria being felt throughout the Union following the restoration of the democratic and constitutional order will inevitably affect Nagorno-Karabakh, which cannot remain an exception to the processes occurring in the Soviet Union. I am sure that, sooner or later, we will obtain some slight movement toward the restoration of constitutional order in the Nagorno- Karabakh problem; in fact, serious steps in this direction already are being taken by the center and by the leaders of some republics. I am sure that in the very near future a serious change might take place regarding the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. (?You should not expect much).

An approximate scenario would be: the restoration of the constitutional order in Nagorno-Karabakh, specifically, the restoration of the power structures; the withdrawal of Azerbaijani OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] from Nagorno-Karabakh; the restoration of the oblast militia organs, which should ensure security and law and order in Nagorno-Karabakh. In this scenario, it would be possible to hold comprehensive negotiations between Azerbaijan and Armenia. The steps I have enumerated cannot, however, form the basis for negotiations; as the matter is now before Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and Nazarbayev. They, particularly Yeltsin and Nazarbayev, have been quite active [word indistinct] on this issue. I mean to say that the restoration of the status quo, the restoration of the 1988 situation, cannot be a subject for negotiations, because the status quo was disrupted by a decree of the country's president, and he must restore the oblast's power structure with another decree. This must happen before Armenia is ready to participate in any type of negotiations with Azerbaijan or with any other party—provided that Gorbachev is not the sole mediator or guarantor in those talks. History already has shown that Gorbachev cannot act as a mediator, because he has always been an interested party. Gorbachev, Yeltsin and Nazarbayev should all be present among these neutral mediators or guarantors, and they have already expressed their readiness to do so. The recent events, the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, and the Azerbaijani elections have all delayed the discussion of this problem. I think that I will once again have to visit Moscow to get a final answer.

[Davityan] Thus the president touched on many issues in his speech, but the political debate that ensued showed that serious differences remain on several important problems. [passage omitted] The Armenian Supreme Soviet will continue its deliberations tomorrow.

Prime Minister Says Suspend Council Participation

LD1109055891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0530 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Speaking at a session of the Supreme Soviet in Yerevan on Tuesday, Armenian Prime Minister Vazgen Manukyan proposed to suspend Armenia's participation in the State Council until the referendum on 21 September. We should have declared independence immediately after the putsch, without waiting for the referendum, although not rejecting the referendum, either, he said. Over the last three years, through enormous effort, we have succeeded in breeding a feeling of independence among the people, and we should have made use of it. A nation that loses faith in its mission is doomed, the prime minister said.

Azerbaijan

Reportage on First Republic Election

Voter Turnout Tops 83 Percent

LD0909134191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1256 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS-AZERINFORM correspondent Natan Barskiy]

[Text] Baku 9 September (TASS-AZERINFORM)—More than 3,240,000 residents of Azerbaijan have taken part in the frst direct universal elections of the president of this Transcaucasian republic. The Central Electoral Commission has reported that this represents 83.7 percent of the total number of the electorate. The only candidate for president was the current head of the republic, Ayaz Mutalibov. His opponent in the election campaign, Zardusht Ali-Zade, representing the Social Democrats of Azerbaijan, withdrew as a candidate a week before the elections.

Mutalibov Elected President

LD1009173291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1641 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondent Natan Barskiy]

[Text] Baku, 10 September (TASS)—Fifty-three year old Ayaz Mutalibov has been elected president of Azerbaijan. Over 90 percent of those who took part in the elections cast their votes for him.

This became known today when the central electorate commission issued the preliminary results of the first direct general presidential elections in this Transcaucasian republic, which took place yesterday. The final results are not known yet, but there is no doubt that the acting president has been elected for the new five-year term.

Popular Front on Nonparticipation

OW1009164891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Data collected by activists in the Azerbajani Popular Front [PF] on September 8 indicate that in Baku alone over 66 percent of the electorate failed to go to the polls. This was announced at a press conference in Baku on Monday by Tofik Gasymov, one of the leaders of the Popular Front. He went on to say that his organization had at its disposal information to the effect that there had been virtually no elections at all in Nakhichevan and the Nagorno-Karabach Autonomous Region.

"Even without the news from other areas in the republic," Gasymov continued, "it can be said with confidence that the presidential election has been another instance of blatant falsification on the part of the authorities. He called on the leaders of other republics and foreign states not to recognize Ayaz Mutalibov as President of Azerbaijan.

Gasymov said that the PF leadership had not worked out any uniform tactics with regard to the Mutalibov administration. But he did stress that the People's Front would employ only democratic methods falling within the bounds of the republic's constitution in its effort to "remove the Communist Party from power by legal means."

Tofik Gasymov said that, in his opinion, it was essential now to complete the establshment of strike committees throughout the republic in order to be prepared for civil disobedience.

Adviser Rules Out Opposition Suppression

LD1109092291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Interview with Vafa Kulizade, Azerbaijani presidential adviser, by unidentified correspondent in Baku; date not given; first paragraph announcer introduction; from the "Television News Service" program—recorded]

[Text] Azerbaijan: Mutalibov, the newly elected president of the republic, promises to reform the economy and to resolve the Karabakh problem quickly:

[Correspondent] Can a situation like the one in Tbilisi recently arise here, in Baku? Suppression of the opposition by force?

[Kulizade] I rule that out completely. The president's popularity is high in the republic; the preelectoral campaign showed that. All the rallies throughout the republic show that, and I think that such a situation is ruled out completely.

Communist Party To Consider Dissolution

OW1009171691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Ayaz Mutalibov of Azerbaijan has told journalists that the republic's Communist Party will hold an extraordinary congress later this week to discuss only one question—dissolving itself.

According to Mr. Mutalibov, the Communist Party will be replaced by a party of democratic orientation; an organizing committee "is already drafting a program for an essentially new party."

According to reliable sources, one of the future party's tentative names is "the National Democratic Party of Azerbaijan."

President Mutalibov said that having resigned as first secretary of the Communist Party, he would not join any other political party.

Nakhichevan Supreme Soviet Elects Chairman

NC1109072191 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] During the beginning of the extraordinary session of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Supreme Soviet the morning of 7 September, it was said that the 6 September remarks by the autonomous republic's four representatives on the Azerbaijan television network and the statement issued by the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet the same day are aimed at delaying the democratic process in Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. The session adopted a decision on this matter.

The deputies later decided to establish the council of ministers of the autonomous republic. The chairman of the Nakhichevan Supreme Soviet proposed Nedzhan Farzaliyev as a candidate for chairman of the council of ministers. The candidate addressed the deputies and replied to questions. Farzaliyev was elected by an open vote as the chairman of the council of ministers. Kazakhov and Abbasov were elected as the first deputy chairmen of the council of ministers.

With this, the extraordinary session of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic concluded its work.

'Dictatorial' Practices Protested

OW1109085691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Madjlis (parliament) in the Autonomous Republic of Nakhichevan has protested against "anti-democratic and dictatorial practices" on the part of the Azerbaijani leadership. It also censured "the ill-intended misinterpretation of a Madjlis resolution" during a Baku news conference held by President Ayaz Mutalibov who had mentioned a ban on presidential elections on Nakhichevani territory, not their suspension as the Madjlis had ruled.

The Nakhichevani parliament described A. Mutalibov's phrase "We'll bring them back to their senses!" as "an instance of pressure and a continuation of the Azerbaiiani Communist party's dictatorial policy." It warned that it was fully capable of defending its constitutional rights and implementing the resolutions once passed.

According to the Madjlis of Nakhichevan, the Communist leadership of Azerbaiian has placed the autonomous republic under an information and economic blockade.

New Prime Minister Named in Nakichevan Republic

LD1109004891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] The Majlis, the parliament of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic [NAR], dealt with organizational matters today. According to telegrams received from the Nakhichevan Government, the deputies elected the NAR prime minister and his first deputies, and also two deputy chairmen of the Supreme Majlis of the autonomous republic. The NAR Government is headed by Farzaliyev, who is nonparty; both his deputies are communists. The new deputy of Gedyar Aliyev, the current head of the Nakhichevan parliament and former member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, is a member of the oblast section of the People's Front of Azerbaijan.

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast

Shelling by Armenian Forces Leave 2 Dead

LD1009223891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1519 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents S. Mirzoyev and E. Rustamov]

[Text] Baku, 10 Sep—As a result of shelling by Armenian armed formations last night, two residents of the town of Khodzhaliy in Nagorno-Karabakh were killed and several people were injured. As TASS correspondents have been told at the Azerbaijani Ministry of Internal Affairs, the fire directed at the town came from "Alazan" missiles and also from machineguns and submachine guns. The Azerbaijani village of Akhullu in the Gadrutskiy Rayon of this autonomous oblast was shelled yesterday from the direction of the Armenian villages of Agbulak and Edilli. There were no casualties.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Finds Opposition to Party Name Change

PM1109084091 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 11 Sep 91 p 2

[Report by Ye. Kulagin, editor of the oblast newspaper AKTYUBINSKIY VESTNIK, under the "Topical!" rubric: "How the Communists Formed a New Party in a Day"]

[Text] Aktyubinsk—Kazakh President N. Nazarbayev has stated that henceforth he will not serve political parties, but the entire people. The Kazakh Communist Party has changed its name. Will it change its nature?

From the very first speech, the temperature at the extraordinary congress of Kazakhstan's Communists began to rise. There were clear and unequivocal statements of position by those who did not want to change anything. Neither the name, nor the program.

The situation was exacerbated still further when one speaker accused N. Nazarbayev of treachery: Why, he asked, did he abandon the party at such a difficult moment? For Kazakhstan, such "free-thinking" is unheard-of. People promptly came to the president's "rescue," and V. Belousov, a worker from Semipalatinsk, succinctly justified his position. He was present at a CPSU Central Committee plenum and saw how, at a critical moment in Gorbachev's battle with the orthodox wing, Nazarbayev lent the general secretary his support. So how can you call him a traitor?

In general there was a feeling that many delegates had dropped straight out of the bright future into the grandiose hall of the House of Political Enlightenment. As if they knew nothing about the empty stores or the terrifying prices. Maybe the tables in the foyer, loaded with a lavishness reminiscent of the days of stagnation, had prompted a sense of complacency. To some extent the president himself clarified the situation. It seems that only 13 percent of those present in the hall were workers. Only 2 percent of the delegates were under the age of 30. The party, soviet, and economic nomenklatura accounted for two-thirds. And it was they who uttered entreaties, calling for loyalty to the ideals of communism.

And so it went on... Nazarbayev categorically stated that he will not permit persecution of former Communists and that he intends to make use of the experience of party organizers—in production, agriculture, and business. Here he could be accused of contradicting himself. How can this be compatible with his own statement that party structures "silently resisted reforms"—especially in the provinces?

Nonetheless, after Nursultan Nazarbayev's speech, the debate moved onto a more constructive footing. V. Minayev, consultant to Tselinograd party obkom [oblast committee], proposed that factions be permitted in the new party, and then the "conservatives" and "radicals" could, in his opinion, coexist. I. Stolyarova, prorector of the Ust-Kamenogorsk Road Building Institute and member of the organizing committee, pointed out that the present Communist Party is the republic's one and only international force, and must be preserved. This reminder proved useful, because one of the speakers had gone so far as to propose that the congress be conducted exclusively in Russian "to save time." This provoked a justifiably negative reaction from the Kazakh delegates. Nonetheless the Noah's ark of the congress managed to avoid all the underwater reefs and arrive at a new harbor. The formation of the Socialist Party of Kazakhstan was proclaimed, and the Political Executive Committee was elected, with two cochairmen—Ye. Yertysbayev and A. Antonov.

Kyrgyzstan

Party Cultural Center Operations Checked

PM1109095591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Aleksandr Ryabushkin report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Party 'Feniks' In Action"]

[Text] Bishkek—Kyrgyzstan's law enforcement organs have started a check on the activities of the "Feniks" Cultural Center, brainchild of the local Communist Party Central Committee.

Then came the first sensation: Two days before the putsch the CPSU Central Committee transferred 4 million rubles to the firm.

The firm was set up on the specious excuse of helping the party rectify its financial affairs. The House of Political Enlightenment in Bishkek was transferred to "Feniks." Video houses and branches of daughter enterprises were opened there immediately. The Communist Party quietly sent its best workers to this crucial sector. In that way a well concealed network of Kyrgyzstan Communist Party Central Committee enterprises was set up in the republic. It can confidently be said that "Feniks" and its fledglings were supposed to serve the party in its darkest days. And those days have come.

Tajikistan

Supreme Soviet Approves President's Resignation

LD1009152791 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Russian 1400 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Excerpts] The extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan ended three hours ago. We briefly reported to you in the evening broadcast about the most important documents adopted by the parliament of the republic. [passage omitted]

The session approved the resignation of President Makhkamov and the law on the election of the president of the Republic of Tajikistan. [passage omitted]

Opposition Demands Banning of Communist Party

OW1109083891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Having met nearly all of the opposition demands, the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan closed its session on Tuesday.

A leader of the Tajik popular movement RASTOKHEZ, Mr. Makhmudali Khalitov, told IF's (INTERFAX) reporter that his movement, together with the Democratic and Islamic parties, had advanced a list of demands, including that the Supreme Soviet Chairman Kakhar Makhkamov resign, the streets and squares of the capital Dushanbe named after Communist revolutionaries be renamed, the anti-Communist activists arrested in February 1990 be released, the 25 persons who died during the unrest be declared national heroes, and that the authorities' refusal to give an official status to the Islamic party be qualified as unlawful.

According to Mr. Khalitov, the main opposition demand—that the Tajik Communist party be outlawed—remains unfilfilled. The opposition intends to prevent the republican CP, which crossed over to the putschists' side, from opening its congress on September 21. If the congress does take place, opposition activists will block the Central Committee's headquarters, M. Khalitov warned.

Foundations of Third Vakhsh Power Station Laid

PM1109075591 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 6 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast: Report by M. Madzhiyev, S. Dzheglov, identified by caption, from Tajikistan]

[Text] [Announcer] Construction of another GES [hydroelectric power station] has begun on the Vakhsh River in Tajikistan.

[Madzhidov] Tajik construction workers and the inhabitants of nearby villages have celebrated a festive event—the first cubic meter of concrete has been poured into the foundations of the building of the future GES. This marks a new point of departure in the life of the power station builders. The Sang-Tudinskaya GES will have a capacity of 670 megawatts per annum.

[G. Pashalabiyev, chief of "Nurekgesstroy" Construction Administration, identified by caption] This is the third power station of the Vakhsh cascade built by the "Nurekgesstroy" Construction Administration. The first was the Nurek GES, then came the Baypazinskaya GES, and now we are building the Sang-Tudinskaya GES. The problems that are worrying construction workers today, are first, a shortage of materials, and second, lack of transportation facilities and a shortage of machinery. But the main concern is unstable funding.

[Madzhidov] Until now major power stations were financed from the country's stabilization fund. This was entirely sensible. Tajikistan occupies second place in the country regarding hydroenergy resources. And these resources need to be put to use. At present the republic is short of electricity and is having to buy it, paying out substantial sums of money. The stabilization fund is no solution. People are having to find their own way out of this situation.

[B. Sirozhev, general director, identified by caption] The purpose of the construction of the Sang-Tudinskaya GES is to largely do away with the shortfall in the production of electricity in the republic. Other Vakhsh cascade power stations will be built after the Sang-Tudinskaya GES. Our hydroenergy potential is so big that in the longer term we will be able not just to meet our own needs but also to export electricity abroad.

Uzbekistan

President Forms National Economic Bank

LD1109030991 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] The president of Uzbekistan has issued a decree to set up a national foreign economic bank in the republic. The bank will keep all currency from individuals and organizations. A foreign account outside the republic cannot be opened now without permission given by the State Bank of Uzbekistan.